

SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

Dr. N. B. KHARE,

B.A., M.D., M.L.A.

(*Ex-Premier C. P. and Berar,*)

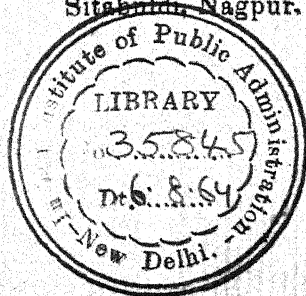
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To Our Readers

No apology is needed, we feel, in presenting in book form the speeches and statements made by Dr Khare the foremost of our public-men on the auspicious occasion of his entering the 62nd year of his earthly existence.

From Congress Chief Ministership to Chief Wardenship the swing of the pendulum in the opposite direction is not merely an accidental happening—its causes lie deep in the events that have galvanized the otherwise peaceful atmosphere of these provinces to the extent that the Working Committee of the Congress had felt called upon to issue a publication styled as “C. P. crisis” and make it available to the general public at every Wheeler’s Stall—a thing unheard of before.

The perusal of these pages will throw a flood of light on the mental equipment of which Dr. Khare is made and though there may be some who would look askance at us for publishing this volume, there will be many others to whom these pages will afford delightful reading in as much as it will show to them that Dr. Khare is not merely a soda-bicarb Doctor as his enemies in public life called him but has in him the makings of a man of letters with originality of putting his thoughts in a carping satire and penetrating humour.

It is not our business to justify every word or action of Dr. Khare but we find that there is a great deal of misunderstanding in respect of many of his statements and so we thought that whatever has been said by him be brought together in print.

We had no small trouble in the compilation of this book. Doctor Sahib had not got copies of all the statements and speeches and so we had to make use of Government publications of Assembly speeches, newspaper cuttings and had also to make use of all documents in possession of Dr. Khare and we take this opportunity of publicly thanking all such persons who have given us the material required. Similarly

the sequence of time will be found to be not observed in preparing this volume due to our not getting some material in time. So also many a printers' devil has crept in.

A list of such corrections has been added at the end.

The book has been divided into two parts. The first part contains Dr. Khare's speeches made in the Central Assembly. The second part contains his speeches in the Provincial Legislatures from 1938 on-wards and also different statements he has issued after what is known as the 'Khare Episode'.

It will be seen that some of his utterances have proved prophetic.

There has been printed also at the end 'the civic-guard Act (Bill)-a measure which Dr. Khare had in view while in office as the premier of the province, just to show that if party feuds had not spoilt the even trend of events—Dr Khare's constructive statesmanship would have borne fruit and the nation at large would have been immensely benefited. There are about a dozen speeches and 22 statements included in this volume and due to paper scarcity different paper has had to be used.

We are obliged to Mr. G. D. Dhavale for writing a pen-picture of Dr. Khare at a very short notice.

Dr. Khare's last statement on Gandhiji's fast is also included in the collection. It shows that Dr. Khare is no respecter of persons but a man who would not spare any one however highly placed that individual may be. His efforts in the Bhansali fast and his association with the Capital Punishment Relief Society are two of the outstanding events to prove that he is always at the beck and call of any righteous cause.

That God almighty might grant the Doctor Saheb a long lease of life of public usefulness is our only wish and prayer!

2nd April 1943.

M. G. DATAR,
E. S. PATWARDHAN.

A PEN PICTURE

by

[G. D. DHAWALE]

"What is, according to you, your mission in life?", I asked him earnestly—but in a light tone.

Quick changed the cast of his countenance, and promptly came the reply: "To expose hypocrisy and fraud whenever and wherever it is found".

The lines on his face became hard and the eyes were looking—as if—both in the past and in the future. But in a second, the furrows on his forehead softened and the edges of his lips resumed their natural gay expression.

With a sallow complexion and a medium height, Dr. N. B. Khare hardly impresses you with his personality. But, mark his a bit dilated nostrils and a proportionately broad muzzle; you will feel that this man must be possessing remarkable courage—almost bordering on ferocity.

The fights he has put up to defend his honour in courts of law, and the tussles against his political opponents have all brought out in great relief the toughness in him. The duel with one of the greatest personalities of Indian History has been almost monumental!

The word 'compromise' has no significance with him. He has never reconciled with the principle involved in the famous 'Communal Award'. Political expediency has no

meaning !. It is a defence of those who have none. It is a weapon—according to Dr. Khare—of the opportunist.

If your principles are high, the cause is noble and your hands are clean—then fight to the last. Even in your defeat, your hidden virtues will come to the top. Dare and tear open the mask of your political enemy while you yourself are being crushed.

The more you are crushed, the more the exposure of your political enemy ! Therein lies your moral victory !!

Dr. Khare's hands are always clean. Even his political enemies will have to admit it. Political opponents do admit it—no wonder that his friends admire him and value his friendship so much ! Many a non-congressman voted for his election—The Editor of Maharashtra—himself an influential personality—refused to support any other congressman, except Dr. Khare. To whatever party Dr. Khare might owe allegiance, he has commanded and still commands a personal respect, a personal admiration and a personal loyalty.

“Whatever your differences with Mahatmaji”, said a Congressman the other day, “when you have taken this work in your hands, we have a complete faith in you. We shall help you to our capacity”. The occasion was a popular one, but the association of Dr. Khare with the cause created more confidence in the public mind. There are two persons in the public life of Nagpur, who are universally liked and respected by all sections—and one of them is Dr. Khare.

And yet he was hounded out of the Great Institution, which he still lives ! His political opponents miserably failed to pull him down from the high place he occupied in public life of Nagpur. But his political enemies—should I say that they have succeeded ? Yes ; at least for a time.

Personal jealousies and hatred, ambitions and misrepresentations by and of his political enemies—in his own party—gained sway over him. He could not tolerate corruption of any sort in his own party. And political expediency, he knew not. He relied too much on his own straightforwardness, integrity and *bona fides*. He proved these to the hilt before the bar of independent public opinion. But by his own party it was decided that he was to be axed. And axed he was, before he was heard. One can place himself above every other individual, but not above one's own party—even though that party may behave like an ass? Unfortunately absolute morality and judiciousness do not always go hand in hand! Though he withstood the first test, he crumbled under the next one. As a man he came out with flying colours—but lost the leaderships of his party.

I may be wrong—I hope I am wrong; but I have felt and felt long that Dr. Khare—unlike the late Mr. Abhyankar—has not been able to capture the imagination of the masses. Yet they have a regard for him; first because he possesses the two great qualities—straight forwardness and honesty and second because he was a successor to Mr. Abhyankar. Even to the intellectuals, his qualities of heart appealed more than anything else. His continuous sacrifices in the cause of congress appeal to both. People always imagined to themselves the guiding spirit or hand of Mr. Abhyankar behind Dr. Khare and paid him their allegiance. They outwardly accepted the fiat of the High Command but very much regretted their decision. And yet they felt that “Abhyankar would not have allowed such a thing to come to pass”.

As a medical man, he is reputed for his quick diagnosis. Is he equally sharp in analysing human psychology which

works in a clandestine way in political life? "You will rue the day when you have selected this fellow as your colleague!", said a very highly placed and responsible person to Dr. Khare. The observation proved almost prophetic. Was that selection a mistake? Was that mistake due to ignorance of human psychology? I think not. The selection was due to quick perception of Dr. Khare's position in the party. But when he could not carry on with that colleague, the impulse to drop him out was too strong to be kept under control. He exchanged his confidence with those who agreed with him and obstinately kept his life-long political associates out of counsel. His mind was saturated with one idea—to get rid of some of his, once a friend, colleagues but now political enemies. The disease was bad enough—but the remedy? He showed that his was a correct stand constitutionally, but he misjudged the human nature? He could not organise a strong party behind him. Those who supported him in this move deserted him when the hour of trial came!

Who say that he is not human? But he can also rise to the occasion. He can forget—at least a while—his "pride and prejudice", can brush aside his personal propensities and correctly assess the human values. He rushed down to Wardha to save the life of Sjt. Phansali—a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. And not a word was spoken in appreciation of his services by the "followers of truth."

He is out-spoken. And this virtue in him has bordered on indiscretion—nay it has contributed positively towards his downfall from the highest position that he once occupied in the Province—the Premiership. He knows it and persists in it. Peculiarly enough, it is both his strength and weakness.

A man of calm disposition and easy manners he was forced to fight by circumstances. He is not a Spanish bull incessantly fighting, getting himself gored or goring others. That is not in his nature. Possessing as he does a fair sense of humour he takes delight in exciting mirth and gaiety. Have you ever passed a couple of hours in his company? I have spent several days during the last several years. He knows how to relax mentally after an arduous work. Those who worked with him both in the 1930 C. D. Movement and the Assembly.....election campaign will bear me out. He would relate a few humorous stories from amongst his fund of folklore which provoked a bubbling laughter and dispelled the day's wearisomeness.

This trait has served him in good stead on the floor of the Assembly hall. He does not forget to add, if necessary, a few bitters if the occasion so demands. I am tempted to cite a few instances. He called "Indian Finance Bill" as "The Indian Fleecing Bill"; the "Indian Civil Service" (I. C. S.)—the "India's cooking service"; the annual budget and Finance Bill as an annual "SHRADDHA" ceremony of the departed glory of mother India". What must be the taste in the mouth of those to whom the above pills were administered? Certainly, they are not even sugar-coated.

I do not think that he is an athiest. But he is not religious in the accepted sense of the word. He will perform religious functions, not out of faith but out of respect either for his elder brother or mother. He is deeply attached to the members of his family. Bapu is loved and respected in his family group, not simply because he is its head and supporter, but because every one of them feels that he has

a place in Bapu's heart. And all the same, Bapu has never allowed this sentiment to interfere with his public duties.

There is something noble, something magnanimous about him. What is it? I can not depict it in words. Like the hidden current of the river Shone, it flows unbroken uninterrupted—below the sands of his private or public life. Why did he run down to save Bhansali? I can quote another instance. The Congress workers of Marathi C. P. were to meet Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They gathered in the hall of the Tilak Vidyalaya. The Abhyankar group and the Ranka group made certain charges against each other. Panditji got restless. He saw through the game played by the Ranka group, and began scolding them. Dr. Khare too became restless, but on other grounds. In spite of all injustice done to him, he got up and said "Rankaji, this is no good; let us shake hands and close this chapter." Nehru was ostensibly moved. But was the chapter closed? Everybody knows what followed thereafter.

An old Tilkite, a left winger in constitutional politics, does not lose his bearings. Whether he sat on the Swarajist Bench in the Legislative Council, or as a Congressman, he has ruthlessly exposed the Government. And no wonder. But even as a member of the Provincial War Committee, he has not lost his moorings. He has plainly warned the Government that such committees will not cut much ice unless 'real power' is transferred unto the people.

Some fanatical congressmen think that he is a *Renegado*. This is simply foolish. He calls himself a "Martin Luther" of the Congress. And that is correct. He has not changed his faith. He refuses to submit to the priesthood. But then who are Munshis, Bhulabhais and Rajgopalcharis? Why not measure them with the same tape? Are they not all "Areadians"—fellows of the same stamp—along with this "Renegade". Do not the aforesaid illustrious differ from the Congress High Priests? Ah! but I am appealing to their sense of judgment! And "do no defy the fools" goes the proverb! So the Doctor must remain an outlaw: Justice is mute in the midst of Arms.

Such is Dr. Khare. I have tried to depict him as I saw him. Perhaps mine may be a wrong angle of vision. But whatever it is, take it from me that my hat will ever go off for him.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, SPEECHES.

Railway Budget—Lists of Demands

“Grab and Brag Policy.”

25th February 1935.

Mr. President.

I rise to support the cut moved by my friend, Mr. Aney. Sir, I am a new arrival in this House and it is possible that I may commit some mistakes, but I hope you will bear with me for some time. Being a new arrival, I am not conversant with any Ackworth or awkward commissions or Lee loots. I will look upon this question from a different point of view, from the Congress point of view. Sir, this complaint about Indianisation is not only a hardy annual, it is a perennial one, a perpetual one, and so long as we are what we are, it is going to remain so. There is provision made in the Act itself, under which the government of this country is carried on, for this complaint. If I am right, I remember that there is some phrase in the Act somewhere to this effect: gradually increasing association of Indians with the task of the governance of the country. The phrase is clear enough: the increasing association of Indians must be gradual; and for it to be gradually increasing it must never be complete: otherwise it will cease to be gradually increasing. (Laughter.) So, in this phrase itself, you can find grounds for the complaint. There are several phrases on a par with this. There is one more phrase of which some people of a particular political persuasion are very much enamoured, which runs thus: gradual realisation of responsible government by successive stages. Here again the realisation of responsible government must be gradual.

An Honourable Member : Progressive.

Dr. N. B. Khare: Progressive: it does not matter—it makes no difference. If the realisation ever comes at all, it

will never be progressive, therefore, it must never be progressive: it must be progressive, therefore, it must never be complete. We are in this situation, and, therefore, it is no wonder that such perennial complaints arise in this House, and we have to come to this House and cry ourselves hoarse for the redress of these complaints. If I may say so, this complaint is as old as Johnni Walker 120 years old and still going strong. This complaint is very kindly nurtured and watered by our benign Government so that we might come here every year and please our palate by chewing this complaint with our sweet tongues. If really the Government is serious in giving heed to our complaint they must do something substantial towards the removal of that grievance; but are they doing it? They cannot, because, although the Government consist of foreigners, and we are under foreign domination that is not the only worst thing about it. The domination is not only foreign, but is meant to be for exploitation; and so long as the exploitation is there, of course I do not expect that this Government will do anything in the matter of removing our complaints. The whole fabric of this administration is really based on two simple small Anglo-Saxon words: what are those words? Grab, and Brag. When we place our grievances that a certain pledge is not kept, that a promise is not kept, we get some sort of yarn from those Benches and we are asked to be quiet and behave like good children. That is brag: and when they plot and scheme to keep us away still further from our desired objects, that is grabbing: these two things go on merrily together hand in hand.

An Honourable Member: Permutation and combination!

Dr. N. B. Khare: Yes: really speaking, if this Government had honoured their pledges given in the past, we would have had no occasion to come to this House and make these

complaints. But even a pledge of that august Queen Victoria, which was given in 1858 after the mutiny, was and is being honoured in its breach; and a Viceroy had the effrontery to say that it was an impossible character. What value can you attach to promises given on the floor of this House or any where else when such pledges given by august personages like the Sovereign himself are trampled upon in this manner? They say that something is being done: I am sure they will continue saying so, repeating this pledge to Indianise the railway service: let alone big jobs: even when they do something to Indianise the smaller jobs, they act in a niggardly and miserable manner. Really speaking this cry should not be raised: or rather we are helpless in this matter: Why? Because the Government are the worst communalist in this matter: they have reserved everything worth having, so far as they can help it, for the Europeans. If we cry for Indianisation, they must thank themselves for it: we cannot help it; but so far as I am concerned I do not care what community there is, so long as it is Indian: it should be Indians alone, whether they are Anglo-Indians or Muhammadans, or Hindus or Parsis—I care a tuppence for it; but it should not be Europeans. But I do not blame the communalists among us because naturally they take their cue from the paternal Government which is communalistic in this matter. . . .

An Honourable Member: Paternal or maternal?

Dr. N. B. Khare: It is *Ma Bap*—combined both. As an example of how the Government carried out the policy of Indianisation even in small jobs in the most niggardly and fraudulent manner, I will quote one instance. Let alone the big and soft jobs: this is with regard to a small job of an Assistant Station Master at Itarsi on the Great Indian Peninsula which is a State-managed railway so far as I understand: my friend, Colonel Gidney, will note—he made a great

excuse for the Railway Board; and it is in this railway that these things happen. This Assistant Station Master's appointment was "A" grade—it is not for Indians; and when the administration wanted to Indianise it, they sent a man there an Indian—on Rs. 75: the pay of the job up to that time was Rs. 345. This is Indianisation. Not only that: there are some bigger posts there carrying Rs. 345 and held by non-Indians if I may say so: they are not very big jobs, but still they are held by non-Indians, and if Indians are appointed, what pay was given to them? Rs. 80 per month.

An Honourable Member: Economy?

Dr. N. B. Khare: Why do not they have this economy all round? Why do they have this particular kind? There is still more funny instance,—again at Itarsi; and this time it is the Station Master's job. When it was in the hands of a non-Indian person—whether he was 16 annas European or not, I do not know—he was getting Rs. 395 and the station was classed as first class. When it was Indianised the Indian was given Rs. 245 and it was classed as a second class station. Subsequently, when the Indian was removed and another non-Indian was again brought there, he was given again Rs. 395 and the station was again classed as "A". This is how they are carrying out Indianisation with a vengeance. Sir, this is the niggardly and fraudulent manner in which things are managed by the Railway Administration,—let my friend, Colonel Gidney, please note. Now, if this is the way, if this is the fashion in which Indianisation is carried on, I will say, Sir, God save us from Indianisation. Really speaking I am not at all for any kind of "Isations". I want power to appoint people, to carry out my policy in the interest of my country, dictated by my Government, and if that policy is carried on by any kind of people, whether Europeans, Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Parsis, I do not care so far as I am concerned. (Cheers from Congress Party)

Benches.) I am perfectly certain about one thing; we may cry from year's end to year's end, but we will not gain our object, because, as I said before, the whole administration is unrighteous. They will benefit themselves, their own pockets, and so long as we do not create sanctions behind our demand, I do not think that we shall gain anything in making these demands; but still we have to carry on things like this as sometimes we carry on our religious functions.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Without believing in God?

Dr. N. B. Khare: Yes, in the same way we have to carry on these things, until we are in better times from our point of view. Sir, it is our birthright to have our administration in our own hands, to run it by our own personnel, for our own benefit, and this birthright cannot be obtained by making grievances in this House, especially when the people in whose hands lies the remedy for setting right our grievances have interests diametrically opposed to us. So in coming here this is what we find. And when we go back we will be in a mood like this. It is a common couplet which says:

"Sangdil ko sang lake sangdil ke sang gaye

Jinka dil tha sang marmar unke sang mar mar gaye".

"Of course, they are white no doubt, and they have got a heart, but it is not only as hard but as cold as *Sanga Marmar* or marble rocks". So, we have, after all, to dash our heads against that marble and return from this House and see what we can do outside and come in again to see if that stone will melt at all. With these words, I support the cut.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS.

“ Indo-phobia ”

12th March 1933.

Sir, I rise to support this motion. I associate myself fully with my Honourable friend, the Mover, in regard to the cases of the political prisoners that he brought before this House, namely, the case of the Chhindwara and Betul prisoners as well as the case of my friend, Mr. Ruikar, and also the lot of the political prisoners generally in India. But, Sir, I am not going to attack this question from this point of view. This policy of Government, or what is called the repressive policy, is styled as a dual policy. It is not a dual policy at all. It is a singularly plural policy which is in evidence in every department of Government from A to Z, from the Army to Zoological Gardens. As a result of this policy, the whole country is reduced to a sort of zoological garden where all kinds of beasts are put within cages. Sir, this policy is but a symptom, and these symptoms vary,—fines, detentions, imprisonments, externments or internments, *lathi* charges or even shooting, these are all symptoms of one disease. In dealing with this disease and these symptoms, as an orthodox physician, I propose to deal with them in the right royal orthodox fashion, and I am in good company in this House, because orthodoxy is liked here, and it has even got a financial backing. I can only probe into this question. Unfortunately at present I am not able to apply my scalpel, because I have not the power to do it. What is the disease of which this is a symptom? This disease is called Indo-phobia and the symptoms are these various manifestations. Sir, as an orthodox physician, in order to diagnose the disease, I must follow the method of interrogation and psycho-analysis. While going through this process—I will not weary this House by going fully into it.—what do we find? What are the predisposing causes? The

predisposing cause is the ever present desire in the minds of those who sit opposite to perpetuate domination and exploitation; and of course the immediate cause is anything which may occur in the meantime showing resentment. They may deny this desire of domination,—some may deny honestly and some may deny dishonestly. But there is one thing which must be remembered. There is such a thing as the sub-conscious mind which is in evidence everywhere although it is very difficult to observe. What is the situation? The situation is a struggle between the haves and the have-nots. The have-nots like ourselves want to repossess what we have lost and the haves do not want to part with it. They want to put off the evil moment as long as they can do so. Therefore, in the nature of the things, the whole fabric of this Government of India, which is the agent of its master in England, is based upon three factors, three human sentiments with regard to India. One is distrust, another is fear, and the third is hatred. All these follow in the natural order of things. Therefore, the only purpose for which the Government exists in this country is, to do what? According to them, to maintain law and order. Sir, the law in this country is an ass ridden over by Satan, and order is gas and nothing more. What does this law do? It goes on kicking people with its hind legs indiscriminately in the most promiscuous manner. And what is order? It is that when superficial calm is established people go about gassing in this House as well as outside about their exploits. And, Sir, they extol their superficial efficiency to the skies. As a matter of fact, law and order should be based upon progress, happiness and contentment, but are they to be found anywhere in India? Absolutely nowhere. I shall tell you what an eminent Englishman thinks about the English themselves—George Barnard Shew.

An Honourable Member: He is an Irishman.

Dr. N. B. Kharc: That does not matter—he lives in England. He says: “We, the English, are the wickedest nation on earth and our success is moral horror”. That is what Shaw says; let alone ourselves. Much is made in this country of terrorism. I know it is an evil, I recognise it is an evil. But after all, if you look upon it dispassionately, what do you find? It is a reaction to the situation created by Government; and is used as an excuse for repression and the so-called maintenance of law and order and to create troubles and all sorts of things. What is terrorism? After all, what is life itself? Scientifically viewed, life is nothing else but adaptation to environment, or what you call reaction to stimuli. Everybody in this country, whether he is a loyalist or a terrorist, reacts to stimuli, and, therefore, is an anathema to Government, because he wants to possess what they possess and what belongs to him although methods may be different; therefore, whether he is a loyalist or a terrorist, it does not matter to the Government at all. Let not loyalist lay the flattering unction to their soul that they are beloved of the Government. I warn them, they are not. Whenever we talk of terrorists or ask any questions about them, the Government think that we have sympathy for them in our hearts. But I say in this House that even the Government and even high Government functionaries have got a sneaking regard for terrorists. The late Lord Morley, who was long ago Secretary of State for India, when he wrote to Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India, before or at the time of the inauguration of the Morley-Minto Reforms, said that the Morley-Minto Reforms were a concession to the Bengal bombs and not the constitutionalists.

An Honourable Member: Hear, hear.

Dr. N. B. Khare: They think that by this counter-terrorism or by this repression, they will succeed. They will not. They have failed, and, as evidence of their failure, I will cite some few facts. When the Bengal Partition was promulgated in 1905, there was a great row about it. It was the beginning of the awakening of national consciousness in India—the National Renaissance. What has happened? In spite of repression, the Bengal Partition had to be annulled. A settled fact was unsettled, not due to constitutionalism, but to some other kind of agitation. Similarly, there was a time in the old days when the word “Swadeshi” was an anathema to Government. What do you find now? “Support Indian Industries” is printed on the envelopes of Government post offices. The song “Bande Mataram” was supposed to be seditious. What do you find now? At least in my province, when at a public function the song “Bande Mataram” was sung, even the Governor, an European Indian Civil Service official, gets up. So also, to utter the word “Swaraj” was treason in the old days; now we get the word “Swaraj” even in the messages we receive from no less a person than His Majesty the King-Emperor. We were told, when we were boys in schools, that Shivaji was a marauder or a plunderer, and his pictures were prohibited. But what do you find in 1922? The then Prince of Wales, while unveiling a memorial statue of Sivaji, described that hero of Maharashtra as the greatest soldier and statesman of Maharashtra. After all, what has happened to this repression? In spite of this terrible repression, they had to yield. Of course, they yield without any grace as is their wont, but they had to yield. I must tell them and tell the House that this yielding process was not due to any constitutionalism, not due to any constitutional method, but due to other things, which cannot be described as constitutional.

How can you describe this policy of Government? I am reminded of the story of a monkey—not monkeying with ratio this time—not a fake monkey, but a real live monkey. That monkey got drunk once, and while drunk, it got stung by a scorpion, and in that very condition, it got possessed of a ghost. (Laughter.) What mortal on the face of this earth can describe the pranks of that monkey? This is the mentality of the Government which rules over us. (*Cries of "Hear, hear."*) They can either carry on their policy or change their policy, and restore the lost faith in constitutional methods. They can choose whichever they like, I am not here to tell them what they should do. But what do you find even in these days of comparatively calmer atmosphere? You find that this policy still persists. There is an institution in Poona called the Maharashtra Bhagini Mandal, exclusively for ladies. Apparently they do nothing but discuss about kitchen, hygiene and infant welfare, but this institution is still under a ban, probably because the husbands of these ladies are politicians. Similarly, there is a Ram Mandir in Talegaon, near Poona, which is still under a ban, because some political workers go there. Again, at Asoda, in Khandesh, there is a spinning school which is under ban. There are several such institutions still under ban, about 130 of them in Maharashtra, which have no connection with the Congress. During the Congress Jubilee celebrations, our flags were torn, processions were interfered with, meetings were disturbed, and some people, who took out *Pharabat Pheries*, were arrested. The *Loka-Shakti* of Poona wrote an article propounding that India should not take part in Imperial wars in future. It was purely an academic discussion. But the Press Act was applied and a security of Rs. 4,000 taken. This is Press Act in operation with a vengeance! It is for Government to choose. They may choose the way they like. This is the parting of the ways. I may remind them of what one of their illustrious

countrymen—Marquis of Lothian —says about the situation.
He says :—

“Nationalism is the strongest political force in the modern world. It is growing with immense rapidity in India. It is said communalism cuts across nationalism. So it does as between Hindu and Moslem, but both are for nationalist as against alien rule.”

He, further on, says :—

“We certainly could not govern a unitedly hostile India with our present methods. But, no doubt, if we adopted the methods of modern dictatorship and took over the press, purged the Universities, created a secret OGPU police, nullified all civil liberties and created a ‘strong arm’ political party to smash up every kind of political opinion not friendly to our rule, and paraded military force and ruthless executions in sufficient numbers, India could probably be kept quiet for a time.”

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

Dr. N. B. Khare: This is exactly what they are doing: They are creating a strong pro-British party, consisting of paid and unpaid, honorary or otherwise, knighted and benighted personages to smash the advanced political opinions as represented by these Benches. People of this category—strong arm political party—how do they argue within themselves? They say :—

*“Ae Hind tujko khak men kyon na milayenge ham.
Izzatko tere shouqse kyon na ghatayenge hum.”*

*Taleem jaisi patenhain us rah jayengen ham,
Apne watanse nafrat kyon na karenge ham.
Khairkhua englishstan ke kyon na banenge ham.
Sah bne dee khatehain roti dabal jo ham."*

"Oh, India, why should I not reduce you to ashes.
Why should I not assail your honour with pleasure?
I will go the way pointed to me.
Why should I not hate my owe motherland,
Why should I not be an henchman of England?
Do I not eat the double *roti* given to me by the
Sahib?"

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must now conclude his speech.

Dr. N. B. Khare: In the end, I will say: "Do not mind their ways, let us go on strong; the eternal law of retribution will be enforced, and people will sing:—

"India was India when England was a pup,
India will be India when England is broken up."

(Laughter.)

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL

The Indian Fleecing Bill.

12th March 1937.

Mr. President,

I am very grateful to you for giving me this last opportunity to make some noise in this House before I bid farewell to this House. I shall, therefore, try to be very brief and also pretty reasonable.

We are asked to consider what is called the Indian Finance Bill. Sir, what is the purpose of the Bill? Its purpose obviously is to find the wherewithal or the money for the suppressive, oppressive and repressive operations of an institution called the "Government of India". Sir, even this denomination "Government of India" stinks into one's nostrils. All the other Governments in the world are called in different ways, such as, the British Government, the French Government, the Afghan Government and so on, but here it is the Government of India. It is a possessive sense and shows that India is possessed by the ghost of Britain. Sir, this Bill really has no concern with us. It is the Bill of the Government of India; it is a Bill for its services; and the best term for it, in my humble opinion, will be not the Indian Finance Bill but the Indian Fleecing Bill. Sir, we the poor Indian sheep,—we are often called the dumb driven cattle—are being fleeced, and they are making warm coats out of our wool, for themselves, and we are left wool-gathering and wondering as to what has happened. So, this is India's fleecing Bill.

Sir, this Bill is only meant for two main services and to finance the operations of those services—one is the army and the other is the civil administration. The Indian people hardly come in the picture at all. The army swallows up about half the revenue of India. I have yet to see on the face of the earth either a country, a corporation or a merchant who pays half of the annual income to his janitor. Now, what is this army? What are its functions? It is called the Indian army, but it is not the Indian army at all. It is the army of occupation kept here not for the protection of the people of this country—at best, it may be its subsidiary function,—but to terrorise them into subjection, so that exploitation may go on merrily for ever and also to provide employment for the British people. That is its purpose. Sir, it is now an open secret and everyone

knows it, in spite of the care bestowed by the Government to keep it secret, that the British soldier is kept here not because he is more useful and more competent but because he is British as against Indian ranks. That is the only purpose of keeping him here. That being the case, if England is at all honest, she should pay for his whole army. Why should we pay for this army at all? If we have an army of our own which is required for our own defence, then we can pay for it. Then, Sir, there are so many divisions in the army. The whole arrangement is very mischievous and people are divided into martial and non-martial races. I really do not know what I am. I am a Mahratta but I do not know whether I belong to a martial or a non-martial race. But I know this much that I am not a mercenary and I will not shoot my own kith and kin by the order of my so-called masters, and take pride in doing so. In this army there are also divisions, Hindus, Muslims and others. One of the purposes of this Government is not only to enhance the angularities among the various inhabitants in India but to create new divisions, like martial, non-martial and so on. There are also divisions like Indians and non-Indians. Of course, it is there without doubt. Then, there are divisions like Brahmans and non-Brahmans, touchables and untouchables, Hindus and Muslims. They are perpetually kept apart, the whole policy of Government being to divide and rule. I do not know when the Hindus and Muslims will give up their quarrels, but I know one thing that they are uniting in a superficial and artificial way. It is commonly observed that the *choti* of the Hindu has left the back of his head where it was formerly, and it is now progressing forward and is settling down on the forehead, so also the Muslim *dadhi* has left the chin and has gone upwards and upwards, and it has also found its haven of rest in the forehead. That is the Hindu-Muslim unity which has come to us by the advent of British Government. Sir, if we

really give up our fights for small things and unite without any reservation, mental or otherwise, the existing state of affairs, such as troubles and quarrels will cease, and this domination by an alien race will also end and this Communal Award which is also condemnable will also vanish. I hope good sense will prevail upon us and that day will soon dawn.

The civil administration for which also a large share of the revenues of the Government of India has been spent centres round the Indian Civil Service which is the pivot of the Indian Empire. It is composed mostly of *burra sahibs* whose nod must be obeyed to the peril of those who dare disobey. He is the giver of everything, he can withhold anything he likes and his duties are manifold, he collects taxes, he administers justice and does all sorts of odd jobs and in the order of things, he is next to the Creator in the possession of arbitrary powers which are always used for the benefit of England and to the detriment of India. For such a service we are required to spend our hard-earned money. It is wrong to call this service the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.), I would prefer to call it the India's cooking service, because the men belonging to this service cook India and nicely dress her into dishes and serve them on the British Imperial table. The object of this service is really to exploit us, and not to elevate us; and this Bill is meant to make a provision for that nefarious and unholy object. Therefore, the occasion is a *Sadiki Rat* for them and *Katulki Rat* for us; which means the day of marriage for them and the day of death for us. In this connection, I am reminded of a story. There was a farmer who kept hens, a lot of them and he reared them, he tended them nicely and it so happened that bad times came. The farmer called the hens to some sort of Assembly or Round Table Conference and began to lecture to them as follows: "Oh! dear, dear, hens, you are so dear to me, you

are my dear creatures, I have tended you so long, I gave you freedom to go wherever you liked, to go to any dust-bin or dung-heap, and pick up any grain you could get there and feed yourselves. Now, Christmas time has come, the times are bad. I have got a number of guests in my family, which has also become larger. So, my dear hens, I propose to remove you bodily from the sphere of earth to heavens. I am always kind to you. I will give you the option of preferring what kind of spices you would like to be mixed up with in cooking." (Laughter.) Of course the poor creatures began to cackle and nestle, and fiddle and coddle and said: What a nice farmer is this. He has given us the option of telling him in which kind of *masalas* we would like to be cooked." There was one hen among the whole lot, an old wise one which craned its long neck and raised it proudly and said: "No, Mr. Farmer, this shall not happen. I shall not consent to my own killing." Of course what the hen meant was that the farmer was powerful enough to kill all the hens put together, but that surely it will not willingly agree to be cut and cooked. That was the difference between the wise hen and the other hens. This Government firmly believes that it is here for the maintenance of peace and order and good government. Certainly it cannot be denied that it is the function of every government to cater for peace and order and good government. No one can deny that. But the function of a Government does not end there. It begins here; but the function of the Government of India ends here. It does nothing for the people of India. Our lot is nothing else than a round of perpetual misery. Government must remember that mere polished efficiency is not the end of the Government which calls itself a civilised government. It must end the miseries of the people, make the people happy. It must enrich the life of people under it, make it abundant and spontaneous and responsible. But this Government will never do it, so long as it exists, I am

sure. The result is perpetual misery for the people. They suffer from lack of education; there is illiteracy, starvation, famines, plagues and all sorts of things. On every Indian's face, misery is writ large, there is no kick, no vim, no vigour and no laugh in Indian life. This Government is responsible for all this misery. Government spent nothing for social relief or economic betterment and they will never do it. What is the average life of an Indian? It is 22½ years. It is falling down gradually. As compared with the average life in other countries, it is very low. The fact of the matter is that Government's functions are not performed properly and therefore I call this Government *poggy*. This word does not find a place in Webster's dictionary, and, therefore, no one need take the trouble of finding it out there. I will make its meaning clear. Whenever we want money from Government as for nation building and whenever we ask the Government to do something for us, to do this thing or that thing which is legitimate, the excuse trotted out by Government is that there is no money and that all monies are spent in the maintenance of peace, order and good government. Government is very fond of replying thus. I, therefore say, this Government is *poggy* which represents the first letters of peace, order and good government. I have added a "y" to make it an adjective. This government says that we Indians are not competent, we cannot do anything and we are Asiatics; and you know what the fate of Indians is in overseas countries of the Empire. But look at the example of Japan. It has a national Government, it is also an Asiatic race and was never so civilised as we were in ancient days. And yet because it cares for its own people, what is the result? Japan today is competing with England in all matters, military, commercial and everything else. But here in spite of British occupation for 150 or 200 years, we cannot even manufacture pins in India, let alone bicycles, motor-cars, aeroplanes and engines. And every year we

raise these questions, Government are adamant, stubborn and pig-headed. Sir, for the last couple of years some money was spent by this Government for village uplift. But Government were never sincere about it; they did it only as a political stunt. If they were really sincere about it they would have found some money this year also for village uplift, but they have not done so; and the elections also are now over. What is village uplift and how was that money spent? The money was spent on foreign knick-knacks mostly; and the result was that the village remained where it was and where it is, and the money was uplifted. (Laughter.) This is known as village uplift.

Sir, a lot is made nowadays of broadcasting. The poor Indian peasant cannot get food and cannot get proper clothing, even for his women-folk; his children are unhealthy; and still he will be amused by broadcasting! What a funny idea! I have a shrewd suspicion that this broadcasting is not meant for the poor Indian villager, but that Japanese competition has hit hard the Lancashire cloth industry, and Britain does not expect now, at least in the near future, to catch the market again. Therefore there must be an outlet for India's money to England and broadcasting is a very convenient outlet. If Government were sincere in their protestations, I plead once for all that this top-heavy administration must not go on hereafter. If it goes on, all these protestations about benefit of the Indian people are hypocritical. The capacity of the Indian to be taxed is absolutely limited; it is at present *nil*. And the needs of India for increased expenditure are certainly very great, if at all Indians are to live like men and not as dogs and cats. But unless and until this Government make up their mind to cut out this top-heavy administration, the misery of the Indian people will continue, and God knows what will happen to them hereafter. The budget is sought to be balanced by a

mere jugglery of figures, a little tinkering here and a little tinkering there. But, Sir, balanced budgets are not produced by such methods. Balanced budgets require balanced minds also, and those are wanting in those who sit opposite and who are responsible for it. Sir, in the course of the last 7 or 8 days we have defeated Government on some very important vital issues, and any Government with the slightest sense of decency would have resigned. But this Government still goes on sitting there and grimacing at us. Therefore it is useless to make any suggestions to this Government for our betterment. But there they are and here we are and so in a spirit of sheer desperation I will venture to make some suggestions.

Sir, it appears from the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member that he is very optimistic about the future, and he bases his optimism on some improvement in the prices of commodities. But that improvement has not got sufficiently far, it is not sufficient to warrent that assumption. He also lays some stress on the recovery of export trade to some extent, but there also we do not know how far it will be permanent or whether it will again vanish. So the only serious proposal I would place before this Government is that they must rectify the mistake which they made last year, of restoring the salary cuts. They must cut down the salary of Government servants at least by 10 per cent., if they are sincere about their protestations. If they do not do it, of course it means that our charge of exploitation is correct. Sir, this new Act is coming into force or has come into force in the provinces and provincial Governments now require more revenue. There are subventions and the separation of Burma has cost a good bit to India. If Government bear all these facts in mind they must not only reduce the salaries by 10 per cent. but they must appoint some inquiry committee to reduce the grades and scales of

salary permanently. Till that time comes the budget can never be balanced and all this trouble will go on.

Sir, that perpetual salt tax is there. It is a disgrace on any fiscal system to tax salt which is a prime necessity for poor people. It is nothing but oppression, exaction and exploitation of the poor Indian masses by this profit-making Government, and it must go.

Then, Sir, there is the sugar excise duty. It has been raised by eleven annas per hundredweight. This industry is an infant industry and has made very good progress. It is a promising industry, and employs a lot of people and gives them daily bread. It is also beneficial to the agriculturists for whose welfare Government are always very solicitous. But now in spite of all that. Government have thought it fit to increase the excise duty, and they think that by so doing some inefficient factories will be wiped out and the industry will be benefited. I really cannot understand why Government should do it. They are proposing to appoint a Tariff Board to go into the question; why do they try to anticipate the findings of that Board? Why this indecent haste? That this excise duty will benefit the sugar industry is very wonderful idea. It reminds me of Aunt Putana of the Mahabharat fame. When the baby Krishna was gaining strength and growing there came Aunt Putana to nurse him with her poisoned breast.

The poor man's demand for the half-anna postcard is not yet satisfied. On the contrary we are getting increased rates for parcels. Sir, the people of India have cried hoarse that the exchange ratio should be changed, but they will never do it. It is not in their interest to do it. They allow gold to be exported and spirited away and refuse to put any embargo on it; on the other hand they have raised the duty

on silver, so that gold goes out and silver does not come. India is denuded, and that is what the Government exactly want. They are not here to enrich us. I give them this suggestion, but these suggestions will never be accepted by Government because when it is troublesome to the Government it takes all such criticism in the press or platform to be sedition: and what else can you expect from them, except more stringent press laws and repression and yet more repression? It is vicious. This Government will go on repressing us like this because once they taste this repression it develops into a habit. It has been so with this Government. And the result is that there is no real tranquillity or peace, but sepulchral silence in India. We cannot help because those who sit opposite us are moneybags and at present we are windbags. We cannot dislodge them. But I must warn them that though ordinary wind has no power, when it becomes a tempest or a cyclonic storm, then it will carry everything before it. Let the Government beware. That day will come some time or other, as surely as night follows day and day follows night. This repression and yet more repression is the last chapter in the history of all bureaucracies and the same will be the case here also. I have no further suggestions to make, and I really cannot consider this Bill at all

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL

"An Occasion Of Shradh"

14th March 1935

Sir,

Before I begin to discuss the Finance Bill in a most haphazard manner, I think it my duty to thank you for affording me this opportunity of speaking in this House; and, Sir, I have to thank you specially because we the back-ben-

chers of any Party are at a great disadvantage. We may stand up scores of times, but we are not fortunate enough to catch your eye, and we being back-benchers, our front-benchers bosses, of course, over-shadow us. Whatever it may be, although I admit it is our misfortune, even then there is a remedy for that misfortune. I do not blame anybody ; I simply describe the pitiable condition in which we back-benchers find ourselves.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abur Rahim): If the Honourable Member will observe, he will find that more back-benchers have taken part in the debate than front-benchers.

Dr. N. B. Khare : We feel like forlorn children. . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better address himself to the Finance Bill now.

Dr. N. B. Khare: Sir, this occasion of the Finance Bill and the budget is a very important occasion in the history of any country and also that of India although it is a subject nation. Sir, when this occasion approaches, many people amongst us who are rather credulous and overhopeful think in their heart of hearts that now is the time when the sweet and smiling celestial cherub will open the flood-gates of heaven and cause the celestial Ganges, the milky way, to descend from heaven upon the plains of Hindustan. Sir, I am not one of those who entertain such fond hopes. The fact of the matter is that there is no doubt that the celestial Ganges, the milky way, descends upon the plains of Hindustan, but the unfortunate part of the whole matter is that after descending upon the plains of Hindustan it does not flow through them. It

flows directly into the English Channel in a straight and precipitous course and empties itself there with innumerable mouths. Of course I need not describe what those mouths are, they are known to all of us. They are the so many services,—the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Ecclesiastical Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Indian Army, the Indian Police Service, and God knows what not; and then there are the interest charges, capitation charges, trade and commerce and so on. They are all permanent leeches; of course they are medicinal leeches; they do not kill us because if they kill us they cannot afford to live. Sir, the Finance Bill which is placed before us for finding ways and means for providing money for the budget we passed the other day is a very funny thing. I compare the Government of India to a great trading concern which it was before and which it even now is.

Sir, I am not a financier and I am not a juggler with figures and I do not want to deal with the innumerable figures. I feel like chewing dry bones if I do it. Sir, I find, that half or nearly half,—may be a little less—of the revenue we earn annually is spent upon the *chaukidars* guarding our premises. Sir, any trading concern which does that every year will not be called a trading concern at all. Not only can one question its wisdom, but if the managing director or the manager of that trading concern insists upon doing it every year, you might also call him a congenital idiot. But, in this particular instance, it is not so. If that managing director, under the garb of spending half the revenue, even though it may be for *chaukidars*, uses that money for the benefit of his own kith and kin and people who are friendly to him and interested in him, then I would not call him a congenital idiot. That is the situation which obtains in this country so far as the military expenditure is concerned.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): What would you call him?

Dr. N. B. Khare: Cunning. The whole policy of this administration can be summed up in two words, or rather one word—domination: whether it is political or financial or both or any permutation and combination of both it does not matter. So what happens is this: the budget happens to be more or less not a people's budget at all, nor is the Finance Bill which is meant to balance that budget: but it is a budget of the services and Government servants. No wonder then that so many people, both paid and unpaid, honorary and amateurish, come forward in this House to extol the policy of this administration to the skies because it benefits them. When I look at this thing, I am reminded of a story, perhaps in the *Pancha Tantra* or somewhere, which I read in my childhood. Once upon a time, there was a marriage celebrated in the family of camels; and to recite the marriage hymns or *mantras*, asses were invited, and in that function they began to praise each other: one said to the other: "Oh, what a beautiful countenance!" The other said to the first: "Oh, what a musical voice!" I can only recite this story and stop there and will not go further. It may be like a marriage season for our friends who sit in the opposite Benches; but for us it is not a marriage it is the occasion of a funeral: in India at least every funeral is followed by a *Shradh* the next year: *Shradh* means the anniversary ceremony of the dead. On that day, what happens is that in memory of your departed ancestors and to pay respect to them, and to remember our duty towards them, we invite a couple of Brahmins and feed them for a day. Here also, what I find is this: that this annual budget and Finance Bill is an occasion of *Shradh*: and what *Shradh*? It is the *Shradh* or anniversary ceremony of the departed glory of mother India: it only helps to remind us of our

duty to our motherland. That is the only use of this budget to me, and it has no other earthly use for me. But there is one great difference. In our household *Shradh*, what happens is that we feed one or two Brahmins only for a day; but here to perform this costly *Shradh*, we have to feed not one or two Brahmins, but hundreds and thousands of white, brown and black Brahmins, and that not for one day but for 365 days in the year: and that is the Finance Bill.

Mr. M. S. Aney: It is a perpetual *Shradh*!

Dr. N. B. Khare: The reason for this is not far to seek. The British power was established in India in the following sequence—all beginning with B, just like British: wherever the British race have gone, three things have gone there in sequence: first of all, the Bible, then Balance and last the Bayonet. Bible stands for religion—Christianity as they understand it, not as we understand it. Balance means trade and commerce. And Bayonet of course we are all familiar with it; and all these things are entirely made in Britian; they are British to the backbone like their Bovril; and we are asked here to find money to perpetuate this policy and to support these three departments, the Bible, the Balance and the Bayonet. We cannot do it in all conscience: we know we will be forced to do it, but we will not be a willing party to it. That is my only argument. Taking the Bible, I know that there is an item in the Government of India expenses, called the Ecclesiastical Department. If I am right, about 45 or 46 lakhs per year is spent on that department. That money, which belongs to the Indian taxpayer, is spent on these white *padris*. There is a necessity to do so; it is wrong and immoral to do so but they are doing it. I will just ask them one question. That item is non-voteable: still I will ask them one question: where is the necessity of doing it? What do you spend upon the religious instruction of people who do not

follow the Christian faith? What about Muhammadans? What about Hindus, and Buddhists and others? You do not spend a single pie upon them. Why then do you spend so much money upon *padris* of the Christian religion and yet parade your religious neutrality? I cannot swallow that pill: it is too much too swallow.

I once met a very venerable European missionary with whom I travelled in the same compartment when I came to Delhi to attend this Session. We had a good chat, and he himself admitted to me in the course of our conversation that all the European nations who profess Christianity now are no longer Christian at all, and he himself further said that they have given up the ways of Christianity, which every one knows, are noble, and these people have fallen into bad ways. And, Sir, what do we find today? God of these people is not Jehova, but Moloch, Mammon and Balial, and half of this money will be spent to feed the military Moloch. That is my grievance.

Now, Sir, I will not traverse the hackneyed ground. I will not talk of gold except to say that the gold policy is an operation of transfusion of blood from India to England. I will not talk of salt. I will not talk of sugar except to say that there was a countervailing duty on foreign sugar, and then the Indian sugar was protected by that countervailing duty. We were given protection, and people naturally thought that it was a good opportunity to concentrate their attention on the sugar industry, and they spent crores and crores of rupees on the establishment of sugar factories, and for these sugar factories, crores of rupees worth of machinery was imported from England, and when all the money went into the pockets of England, what do we find? We find a surprising thing, I mean the excise duty. That is all I want to say about it. Sir, I am not much fond of sugar or salt.

I am rather fond of red chillies, and, therefore, I will proceed to the Army Department.

Sir, the day before yesterday we were told by the Army Secretary that the British do not distrust the loyalty of the Indian troops and the Government are following the policy of Indianisation in a proper way, that there is no racial animosity, and that there is no differential treatment in the army,—that is what I understood him to say, but, Sir, in spite of the view held by the Army Department, I would maintain that the policy of this Government, especially in the Army Department, has been the same consistent policy of distrust and discrimination and divide and rule, and I shall attempt to prove it to the House if I can, and this policy has been followed for the last 100 years, and even today it is followed in spite of the vehement protest made in this House and outside it. Sir, I shall, with your permission, quote a few passages,—it is an old quotation,—nevertheless it applies with equal force to conditions existing today !

“ This question involves issues of the greatest moment demanding the most careful consideration. It appears to me to be of vital importance to the safety of the Empire that we should maintain and encourage the distinction of race feelings and habits which have, heretofore, kept the various great sections of the people of this country from coalescing and becoming a homogeneous race to whom national feeling and national cohesion would be natural and possible.

The more diversity that can be introduced into the constitution of different corps the better, so that in any case of any future attempt at combination the heterogeneous character of the

various regiments may present an effective bar to it, and be a source of information to commanding officers."

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What is the Honourable Member quoting from?

Dr. N. B. Khare: It is a book written on Indian Defence Problem by Captain G. V. Modak of the Gwalior Army.

This is what His Excellency Neville Chamberlain, Commander-in-Chief, considers:

"Each army corps.....should be distinct in race, religion and language."

Then, Lord Elphinstone (G. G.) says:

"I have long considered this subject, and I am convinced that the exact converse of this policy of assimilation is our only safe military policy in India. '*divide et impera*' was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours."

Here is a quotation, Sir, from Brigadier Coke who would have each corps of one tribe or caste and his reasons are:

"That, in a rising of the Mussalmans, you would always have Sikhs, Dogras, Gurkhas and Hindu corps to defend or *vice versa*. By mixing the castes in one corps they become amalgamated and make common cause, which they never do if they are kept in separate corps. The result of mixing them in one corps has been to make them all join against Government and not only

the soldiers but through them the Hindu and Mussalman Zamindars were incited to make common cause which they never would have done, had the races been kept in distant corps. Our endeavours should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunately) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. *Divide et impera* should be the principle of the Indian Government."

Here is another quotation from Lieut.-Colonel H. M. Durand, C. B., on special duty with the Governor General,—not the present Governor General, of course. This is what he says:

"As we cannot do without a large native army in India, our main object is to make that army safe, and next to the grant counterpoise of a sufficient European force, comes the counterpoise of natives against natives.

To preserve that distinctiveness which is so valuable and which, while it lasts, makes the Muhammadans of one country (province) despise, fear or dislike the Muhammadans of another. Having thus created distinctive regiments let us keep them so against the hour of need.

By the system (of distinctive regiments) thus indicated, two great evils are avoided, firstly, that community of feeling throughout the native army and that mischievous political activity and intrigue which results from association with

other races and travel in other Indian Provinces and secondly, that through discontent and alienation from the service."

Sir, this is the policy. Not only that, the Princes might flatter themselves for the trust which they enjoy under British rule, but here is a quotation which proves the real truth:

"It is claimed by enthusiastic Rajamanics that we should provide an outlet for the military aspirations of the Princes, and in addition to rank and honours should give them commands in peace and war, in fact should train them to succeed us in India, when we give the country Home-rule.

The Native States, as at present constituted and ruled, relieve us of the administration of one-third of British India and strengthen the Empire.

To add to their troops, and to encourage their martial ardour, would make them an anxiety and possibly a danger. Notwithstanding the preplexing march of time and events, we cannot disregard historical precedents, or the question of colour."

And, Sir, when we ask them, they tell us that they are our trustees, they are the trustees of the voiceless millions—they know our interests better, that they will dictate the policy which is beneficial to us, but we all know that this trusteeship is mere humbug and camouflage. God never awoke one fine morning and appointed the Britishers as our trustees, but I shall presently tell the House what even some of the Britishers themselves tell us about this. This is a

quotation from General Maurice:

"We are less than honest in our talk about our trusteeship for the 'voiceless millions' of India. India, certainly no longer 'voiceless' and far from its being a question of 'trusteeship', our hold on India is chiefly in our interest and frankly imperialistic.

We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Britain. I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians, we hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire goods in particular."

Sir, I will not detain the House very long, but I will make one fact clear, and that is, that the only solution which appears possible to get over the morass financial difficulties as to cut short the army expenditure quickly and immediately. If the British tommy is replaced by the Indian soldier who, as the Army Secretary has admitted, is his equal, if not superior, in valour and everything else, there will be no difficulty. For the British portion of the army there is short service recruitment and they stay here for six years and then go back to England. In that way the British people get a good supply of trained and capable soldiers at the cost of India. But the Indian soldier is not recruited on the short service system because then you will have so many people thrown in the Indian population who have had a military training. You cannot deny, that, otherwise what difficulty is there in adopting the short service system for Indians? I will go further and say that not only is the Indian soldier—though ill-clad, ill-fed and ill-trained—more competent than the British soldier, but that the British soldier has many a time proved himself in efficient, because he comes from

a different country and lives in a different climate—I do not blame him for that,—and although he gets more pay, three and a half or four times, and so many different allowances which are denied to his Indian confrere, yet in actual warfare, on many occasions, in Mohamand warfare and in frontier defence, he has proved himself unequal to his Indian companion. Because he is confronted with a different country and with mountainous surroundings. It is only 10 or 15 years ago, that in Sandhurst, they have started a course of frontier warfare. Again, in spite of all the meticulous care which the Medical Department takes about the British soldier,—he is nurtured here in an incubator or a hot-house and a lot of money is spent on that purpose. Yet in spite of all that, he is not found equal to the task, as can be proved from the writings of Britishers themselves. So, what is the good of forcing this unwanted article upon us when we can have our own article in a better and cheaper way? If this is done, about 20 or 30 crores of rupees would be saved straightaway, and that money could be spent on beneficent activities. Will the Government do it? I am afraid they will not, because it is not in their interest.

Sir, this catalogue of grievances is a very long one, it is so long, or rather it is as long as the proverbial tail of the Hanuman of Ramayana fame. The tail of the Indian Hanuman, in the shape of these grievances, is so long, and so powerful a prehensile organ that he should have burnt Lanka, ere long, but he cannot do that, because his own kith and kin are ranged on the enemies' side. We have been many times asked as to why we came here, what is our attitude, whether we have abandoned the civil disobedience campaign, and all sorts of questions are asked of us. I am not ashamed to admit that for immediate effects the civil disobedience campaign has failed. I am not ashamed to admit that, and that is why we are here. But that does not

mean that our mentality has changed, or that we have lost sight of our ideal. What shame is there in being defeated or in losing one's battle? There is no shame in losing a battle; there is shame in not fighting at all. Even Shakespeare says: "Not failure, but low aim is crime". So, we need not be twitted like that. After that, we are told: "What is this? You have come here. Accept this". But why accept? What is this Finance Bill? It is placed before us ready made and we have to say, Yes! Though we have lost our battle for the time being, yet it does not mean that we should be slaves mentally; it does not mean that. If a man becomes a slave mentally, then he is gone for ever. This reminds me of a story in the Mahabharata, which happened at this very place, several thousands of years ago. When the Pandavas were deceived by the Kauravas with loaded dice,—as we were by ordinances and flats,—and they were made powerless, Draupadi was brought into the durbar of the Kauravas and she was told: "Now, what will you do? Your Pandavas are powerless, there is nobody to take up your cause. You are helpless. Now, what will you do? Consent to become the queen of Duryodhan". Was there anybody in that durbar to advise her to accept that shameless proposal? There was nobody. There were some people.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair may remind the Honourable Member that there are other Members who also sit on the back benches, who want to address the House on the Finance Bill.

Dr. N. B. Khare: I shall finish, Sir.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Don't leave Draupadi unprotected like that!

Dr. N. B. Khare: That would be very ungallant. So, what happened was this, Draupadi did not sit on the lap of Duryodhan. The reply that she gave was: "God is my protector". And God helped her, and Bhima's mace sat on the lap of Duryodhan. At that time, too, in the durbar of the Kauravas, there were Bhishma and Drona and others. Draupadi appealed to them for protection, but they said:

"Arthasya purusho dasah."

"Man is the slave of money."

"Your cause is just, but what can we do? We are powerless." When such great men said like that, what to say of the defenders of our rights who sit in the opposite Benches—I call them defenders of our rights although they are not so in reality.

We really feel for the Government of India in this matter. We feel for their subordinate position. We want the Government Members to be real *sirkars* and not merely *sirkars* in name. That is our grievance and when we are trying to pull them out of their unhappy position, they should not hinder but help us. I will explain why all this happens. All this happens, because it is the British Parliament which governs us and not this Government. I deny the right of the British Parliament to govern us. I do not concede that right. They may tell us there is a legal right. I say "No". We never consented. There is no right of consent, and there is no right of conquest. I have got no time. My party Whips are after me. So, I must close, but; if I had the time, I would have proved from historical happenings that the British never really conquered us. The British Parliament governs us not by right of consent or conquest. They are simply governing us by right of usurpation and long usage. Usage, howsoever long it may be, if it is a wrong usage, an immoral usage, an unjust usage, it cannot be justified by mere length of time. I would say that it does not matter if it is a despotic power. If there is one despot, he will be tired of it, but this system is neither despotism nor democracy. God knows what this system is, under which a few millions of aliens are governing many more millions of people, not in the interest of the people, but in their own interest. This system is certainly grotesque, absurd, unjust, immoral, and we protest against this system, and if the Finance Bill is brought for the support of this form of administration. I will say that I will have nothing to do with it. That is all I have to say.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

SPEECH DELIVERED BY Dr. N. B. KHARE WHILE
MOVING THE RESOLUTION REGARDING THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN THE C. P. AND
BERAR PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ON

21st September 1937.

Mr. Speaker—

The motion I have the honour and privilege to move runs as follows:—

“ This Assembly resolves that the Provincial Government do forward to the Government of India and to his Majesty's Government its emphatic opinion that the Government of India Act, 1935, should be replaced at the earliest possible date by a Constitution in consonance with the aspirations of the people of India as expressed in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress, and that the assumption of office by Ministers in this province should by no means be understood as a surrender of the national demand for a constitution to be shaped by the representatives of the people of India duly summoned to a Constituent Assembly convened for the purpose. ”

In doing so I wish to recapitulate some of the leading facts as to the Constitutional development of my country so that those who have to deal with this question may obtain in one place all the facts which logically culminate in the demand formulated in my resolution.

In doing so I shall follow the advice of His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow who in his address to the Bishop Cotton School at Simla adjured the boys to follow Truth, adding: “ In your search after Truth you must expect to meet with many difficulties, many set-backs and

not a few disappointments, but you are to remember that none of us in this world can hope to attain perfection in anything." But while I do not entertain such hope, I will strive to avoid error in solely relying upon the Government official records, published and available to the public, though they still remain so scattered and diffuse that a coherent and connected history of India has yet to be written. It will be remembered that when the Maratha power rose to crush Moghul domination of the country, two great European powers made a bid for the conquest of India, which led to a deadly duel between the French and the English protagonists, represented by Dupleix and Robert Clive. In his letter, dated the 7th January 1759 addressed to William Pitt (and written, it will be remembered, two years after the battle of Plassey) he requested his support to his design to acquire Bengal, Behar and Orissa as "it would prove a source of immense wealth to the Kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund towards diminishing the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour" (*Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Oxford, pages 1—13). France was at that time prosperous and did not support Dupleix with the result that Clive's policy of acquiring India as a source of wealth to England to pay off her heavy load of indebtedness received support from the Home Government, and on the 12th August 1765 the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was secured from Nizamuddowla on an annual payment of 26 lakhs. It was made over to the East India Company to whom the British Government had become heavily indebted, and who agreed to pay an annual subsidy of £400,000 to the British Exchequer. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor of these territories and he drew up a scheme for their Government embodied in the East India Company Act, 1773, which entrusted the Government of the combined territories to the Governor-General and four Councillors who were to act under the "superintendence, direction and control" of the Court of Directors, since transferred to the Secretary of State in Council. These

words have become classic and reproduced in the several Acts since passed, but the "superintendence and control" are now omitted, though the "direction" still remains in section 14 of the present Act.

The East India Company was a trading corporation and had obtained its first charter from Queen Elizabeth on the 31st December 1600. It continued to rule India for its own benefit and for the benefit of England till, on the close of the Mutiny in 1858, its Government was terminated and the Crown assumed the direct control of its Eastern possession, and its policy was published in the historic and memorable Proclamation of Queen Victoria, which was to be treated as the preamble to the then Government of India Act which was kept alive by section 130 of the last Act. The Queen's Proclamation promised a change of policy in the government of India. Till then India had been a commercial concern of the East India Company, who had to pay heavy subsidy for relief of the British Exchequer. But that policy was to change. As the John Company had made the utmost it could out of the country, so its servants emulated the example of their master and extracted as much as they could in so short a time as possible and retired in England where their wanton profligacy secured for them the sobriquet of the "Indian Nabobs" mockingly referred to by Macaulay in his *Indian Essays*.

Well, the Government of India Act of 1858 introduced a new form of government, but the abuses that had become chronic in the previous Government continued and were in one respect accentuated. As under the John Company the ultimate power of "superintendence, direction and control" was exercised by the Court of Directors who periodically sent out Commissions to study the deficiencies of the Government on the spot and to report to them in confidence, which acted as some check to the vagaries of the Company's cadets, the new Government by transferring all power to the Secretary of State in Council, who ruled from a distance of 6,000

miles without ever visiting this country, directly or vicariously led to greater abuses which Lord Dalhousie described in one of his letters as follows:—"Under either Council, and according to either Bill, an utterly ignorant Secretary or an over-confident, rash and presumptuous, though highly instructed and experienced, Secretary would be as much the Ladshah of India as ever was Akbar or Aurangzeb, with this mighty difference that he would rule the Indian Empire at ten thousand miles away from it." (*Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, pages 419 and 420.)

Nevertheless, the Secretary of State in fact and the Secretary of State's nominated Council in theory and small matters continued to rule over India till the Act of 1919. Before this Act became law, the British possessions overseas had started a restless campaign against the absentee Government. They threatened to follow the example of America and set up independent Government of their own. Sir Wilfred Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada and a liberal in politics and a pro-Englander in policy, openly declared: "Our loyalty depends upon our liberty." The rumblings of similar storm began to be heard from India to which Lord Curzon's firm rule and the partition of Bengal gave a timely stimulus. An Imperial Conference was convened to adjust all inter-imperial relations, and India was permitted to be present at this Conference through the Secretary of State but she was not to be its member. Meanwhile, Indian peace was rudely disturbed by terrorist crimes which were sought to be suppressed by coercion, which failed to restore peace but gave stimulus to wider outrages which went on because they were left to be stopped by the men on the spot. But the men on the spot had no political experience of their own country. They had been recruited for service in India in their schoolboy days. They knew little or nothing of the language and character of the people and all they knew was the use of force which they used with relentless energy.

But the history of India is the history of all other countries similarly placed, with this difference that the rulers of India were foreigners who had no sympathy with the people or their political aspirations—with the result that widespread discontent began to shake the founts of Olympus, and Government felt that the people were really worried about the partition of Bengal. They invited the King to pay a visit to India, which he did in the winter of 1911, rectified the partition, shifted the capital of India from the anarchical province of Bengal to the placid calm of Moslem Delhi. But the agitation did not subside but continued in sporadic waves till the ordinary laws were suspended and persons suspected of terrorist crimes were summarily convicted under the notorious Rowlett Act or deported to unknown quarters under Regulation III of 1818.

But these convictions without trial only suffered to exacerbate public sentiment. When in 1914 the Empire became involved in the Great War, the British Cabinet felt it necessary to enlist the support of her overseas possessions with the result that it promised sovereignty to all the white colonies and a soft sop was thrown to India in the ambiguous declaration of the 17th August 1917, later appended to the Act of 1919. This declaration was prompted by the exigency of war, but it was the work of a Conservative Cabinet who had entrusted its revision to Lord Curzon. It promised responsible government as the goal for India and promised progressive association of India in all services of the Crown. A few years previously, India had been admitted to be a member of the Imperial Conference, though care was taken to see that its representatives therein were no more than sundried bureaucrats, and their puppets who were often sent in their proxies. But nevertheless the one fact that drew the attention of the premiers and ministers of self-governing colonies was the fact that India was represented at such Conferences by the nominees of the bureaucratic Government; or rather by its master the Secretary of State for India.

Nevertheless the association of India with them at such Conferences and the growing discontent therein, of which reports began to be cabled to foreign countries, drew the attention of the world to its glorious record in the war of freedom and its own abject domestic condition.

As a return for her war services, India became a foundation member of the League of Nations, but for twenty years since its inception in 1918, not a single public man of independent views has been accredited to its delegation. But the inclusion of India among the original members of the League of Nations was upon the assumption made that India was self-governing, since none but self-governing countries were eligible to be members of the League. As such, India became a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles and has since then been treated as an independent member of the British Commonwealth in all external Committees and Conferences. The history of these Conferences shows that India was given an independent vote on the recognition of her sovereignty, but care was taken to see that such vote was cast with the United Kingdom. India was in fact a puppet member of the British Commonwealth and she was paraded as a self-governing member of that body in all Imperial and international Conferences with a set purpose of adding to the British voting strength therein.

In their unanimous report on the Act of 1919, the Joint Parliamentary Committee had emphasised the necessity of giving India her fiscal autonomy, as was given to the self-governing colonies such as Canada, South Africa and Australia, and this fiscal convention has been since ceremoniously repeated as a sacred Ark of the Covenant, but it has been in practice as unceremoniously broken, and now with the Imperial preference thrust down the throat of helpless India, the much-vaunted fiscal convention has even formally disappeared.

The fact is that so long as the Government of India remains subject to the Secretary of State, there can be no semblance of autonomy of any kind in this country, and so long as the Governors and Governor-General are Britishers, they must naturally fight for their own land whatever the Instruments of Instruction and whatever the language of the Act. And I do not blame them. Every Englishman is an Englishman first and anything else afterwards.

You will now see that despite the Royal Proclamations and Parliamentary Statutes, the Government of India, ever since its inception down to the present day, has been and continues to be an unredeemed autocracy, established and maintained to supply money and material to the United Kingdom. It is perhaps not far from truth when on the eve of the present reforms both Mr. Winston Churchill and the *Daily Mail* declared that fourteen shillings out of every pound's income to the people of Great Britain came from India. We are often asked why India is so poor: let the querist ask Mr Winston Churchill for a reply.

Germany is at the present moment clamouring for the return of her colonies. Why? She does not mask her intention by appealing to Providence, but says bluntly and more truly that she wishes to exploit them for her own benefit. Our industries have been sadly neglected because India has to export her raw materials to England to feed her factories, without which they will have to close down. The Lankshire cotton trade has been built up on the Indian cotton, and as soon as India began to start her own mills, Lancashire forced the hands of the Government of India to levy a heavy excise duty on raw cotton before it reached the Indian mills. Sir James Westland, the then Finance Member of the Government of India had to confess that as member of a subordinate Government he had to obey the orders from Whitehall and that he was powerless in having to enact the Cotton Excise Duty Act, 1882.

Those of the Honourable members who care to look at the railway map of India will find all old railway lines radiating towards the British ports of Bombay and Calcutta and till recently freight for British goods from England to a mofussil town was cheaper than from Bombay or Ahmed abad to, say, Benares.

When some little power was transferred to the Central Assembly by the Act of 1919, the Indian Members set themselves busy to correct these glaring devices of the British commercial interests. And when they succeeded in one direction, their efforts were foiled by fixing the ratio of the rupee at sh. 1/6 when its parity in other countries did not justify more than a shilling and four pence, thereby giving British trade a distinct preference of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by depreciating the value of Indian produce to that extent. India has since complained of this new rendering of her fiscal autonomy convention but in vain, and ample provision will be found in the present Act against any interference with the rupee ratio, though the Indian public opinion has as unanimously condemned the fixation of exchange to the detriment of her Trade as she did the imposition of the cotton excise.

The fact is that England is not prepared to surrender her established policy of exploiting India, and the Indian National Congress feels that even if India were admitted into the charmed circle of the Statute of Westminster, her interests cannot be safeguarded so long as she remains a member of the British Commonwealth. She may gain in small details but her economic dependence will still remain, and so long as she is economically dependant upon England, she must continue to be the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the British Capitalist.

It has been said that if India were given her political independence she will not be able to retain it for much time. But as to this I would let the Secretary of State himself

answer for India. Speaking during the passage of the Act of 1919, Mr. Montague said: "Do not deny to India self-government because she cannot take her proper share in her own defence, and then deny to her people the opportunity of learning to defend themselves." (House of Commons, 5th June 1919.)

India has been claiming for half a century for the Indianization of her army, which is at present maintained as an Imperial garrison but for which India has to pay the bulk of her central revenue. Only a few days ago the question was raised in the Central Assembly, but the answer was the conventional statement that the British troops in India cannot be reduced and yet when the British troops were stationed in South Africa and Egypt, their cost was borne by the British Exchequer, which she continued to do even after South Africa became self-governing.

And yet the army in India was called away to serve in the Great War and, only a few days since, two of her regiments have been despatched to relieve British troops in Hongkong. The fact is that the Indian Army for which India pays is intended to protect England's overseas Empire—in South Africa, Ceylon, Federated Malay States, Australia and New Zealand, and none of these countries have any defence armies of their own because the Imperial garrison is here to assist them in case of necessity.

The Indian National Congress has been for fifty years clamouring for the Indianization of the army and for the defence of India being placed in Indian hands. But her cry so far has been a cry in the wilderness.

America conquered the Philippine Islands in 1899 and she has promised to make those islands independent. President Wilson's demand that all countries, great and small, should have the right of self-determination has been

accepted by Great Britain, which became the pioneer protagonist of the League of Nations established to materialize his fourteen points. But India? Alas! She remains today what she has always been—a mere dependency of Great Britain in reality and in fact, though her external status has assumed the semblance of a dominion—a “dominion in action” as another Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgewood Benn, described her to be. But impartial English observers have freely confessed that so long as Britain profits by India, she will never permit India to develop a political sense. “The rule of Britain in India,” writes Mr. Keith, “began with the commercial transactions of a company, and interesting as is the history of the East India Company, it is impossible not to recognize that this commercial origin was hostile to the development of a true political sense.” (*Responsible Government in the Dominions*, second edition, page 44.)

Well, in spite of these serious drawbacks inherent in the present system of Government that must continue so long one nation rules over another, and in spite of the conflict created and jealousies aroused in our midst, the growing political consciousness of my people has risen above the sordid cult of selfish sycophancy, and India has foregathered her courage to demand what is her birth-right—an acknowledged Independence. In this demand the Indian National Congress claims the support of all thinking India. With our purpose thus resolutely fixed, we demand a new Constitution of our own making. The British Government have made numerous constitutions for India, but they have all lacked the spirit and the soul of a free constitution. We are working under the present Act, but under what handicap? Eleven days ago, my honourable colleague, the Finance Minister set before you the monetary condition of our province. A similar picture has been depicted in the other provinces under Congress Government. It is thus clear that

the financial, economic and political evolutions of our country are interdependent. They cannot be divorced, as they have been under the Act of 1935.

I shall say nothing about that Act, for it has been universally condemned—condemned alike by the traditional supporters and friends of Government, condemned by its unofficial ambassadors like His Highness The Aga Khan, condemned by one and all—and it will suffice to prove the Congress demand that our Constitution must be fashioned and framed by our own people, through the medium of a Constituent Assembly, elected by adult suffrage. And the Congress demands that the present constitution be forthwith repealed as inadequate and an insult to the dignity of India.

II

LETTER TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

LETTER SENT TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT
ON THE EVE OF DR. KHARE'S FIGHT TO THE
WORKING COMMITTEE ON THE ISSUE
OF DEMOCRACY.

Nagpur, July 26th 1938.

My dear Mr. Bose,

I have very anxiously considered your advice and thought over the matter myself and consulted my friends and colleagues. I am sorry I cannot see my way to accept the draft which I am asked to fair out and submit. I am not prepared to admit that I was guilty of any indicipline. I am not prepared to admit that the Congress has lost its prestige through my action. The draft contains some baseless insinuations about fitness to hold positions of trust and responsibility in the Congress. I am sorry I cannot endorse them.

I must state in addition that I am fundamentally opposed to the view that there should be no joint responsibility among the Ministers and that the Ministers should not be primarily responsible to the Prime Minister and further that they should be severally responsible to the High Command. I hold the view that these ideas are a complete negation of democratic Government. Similarly I am opposed to the further view that the Working Committee or the Parliamentary Sub-Committee should dictate to the Congress Parliamentary Party the choice of its leader. I hold the opinion that the Parliamentary party must be free to choose its own leader and the choice must be free and unhampered. It must also be open to the leader to exercise his independent judgment in selecting his colleagues.

To my great surprise I have learnt the astounding views expressed by some persons for the first time yesterday. I had all along believed that we were to work according to the notions and conventions of democratic Parliamentary institutions accepted all over the world.

If the Working Committee want that I should not contest the election for leadership tomorrow they should issue an order to that effect and I shall cheerfully obey it as a staunch disciplinarian."

Yours truly
N. B. KHARE.

III

STATEMENT IN THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY

STATEMENT BY Dr. N. B. KHARE ON THE RESIGNATION OF HIS OFFICE AS PRIME MINISTER

Dr N. B. KHARE (Nagpur City): With your permission
1 p. m. sir, I wish to make a statement on the resignation of my office as Prime Minister. It is a statement of my resignation which the House is entitled to know.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: This has come as a surprise to me. What is it ?

Dr. N. B. KHARE: It is a statement on my resignation. With your permission, sir, I wish to make a statement on the resignation of my office as Prime Minister. Although a lot has been said outside this House on this subject, you will concede that I owe a duty to the Assembly to acquaint it with the causes that led to the formation of intrigues against me in the Cabinet and the subsequent dissolution of my Ministry.

The House is aware of the circumstances in which the Congress decided to accept office to combat and wreck the constitution imposed against the will of the people of India. But it did not take very long for the high idealism of resistance to an alien Government to degenerate into a servile recognition of the supremacy of the Provincial Governors as heads of the constitution. As a matter of fact the British Government agreed to let the Congress Ministers work the constitution originally in the six provinces as a result of the unauthorized and secret personal negotiations between Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and the Governor of Madras. The present Prime Minister of Madras, contrary to the orders of the then President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had interviews with Lord Erskine and came to an understanding with him as to the lines on which the constitution was to be worked by the Congress Party all over India.

I can assert without fear of contradiction that Mr. Rajgopalachariar assured his future Governor that the object of the Congress was not to wreck or combat the Government of India Act but to co-operate with the representatives of the British Government and the British Crown, and that the declarations made by the Congress of combating or wrecking the constitution were only a pose to placate the left wing forces in the Congress. Although

this was kept as a secret from the leaders of the Congress Parliamentary Parties in the other five provinces at the time, some of us soon realized that this was a deviation from the intentions of the Congress. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee resisted and checked all my efforts of wrecking or combating the constitution though I had considered it to be the real objective of the Congress participation in the Reforms. We were enjoined not to do anything which was against the plain meaning of the various sections of the Government of India Act, as is corroborated in Mahatma Gandhi's recent articles in the *Harijan*. I did not get their support even to have a holiday declared on the 26th January, the Independence Day.

This attitude of the Congress Parliamentary Committee encouraged my erstwhile colleagues to intrigue against me and to unseat me from the Premiership of the province. When it became intolerable for me to work any longer honourably and consistently with the high ideals of the Congress, I was compelled to take drastic steps against the three Mahakoshal Ministers. The Mahakoshal Ministers perfidiously refused to carry out my wishes about their vacating their office on the instigation of some of the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee with whom I had ceased to be a *persona grata*. Subsequently on my recommendation they had to be removed by the Governor. I took this step in order to prevent the Mahakoshal Ministers from relapsing into felonious conspiracies and from disgracing the good name of the Congress and lowering its prestige. As the House is aware, I subsequently formed a second Ministry. Unfortunately I did not get from the Working Committee the support and sympathy to which I was entitled, owing to its domination by a set of people who have taken a dislike to me on grounds other than political and patriotic. They publicly disapproved of my action and passed as it were an Act of Indemnity to shield the perfidious and felonious conspiracies of the Mahakoshal Ministers. In the circumstances... ..

[At this stage The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Misra (Minister for Local Self-Government) raised a point of order. Mr. B. G. Khaparde, Mr. T. J. Kedar, Rao Sahib D. D. Rajurkar, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Mr. V. N. Jakatdar, and Mr. V. R. Kalappa took part in the discussion. After the ruling given by the Speaker in favour of Dr. N. B. Khare he said.]

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I am very thankful for the gracious permission which you have so kindly given to pursue my task though my task is, at all events, not pleasant to me. I have tried by best to couch my statement in as chaste language as possible; I have avoided using invectives against any person though I am justified in describing the action in appropriate terms.

In the circumstances I had no alternative but to resign the office I held as the Premier of the province. Some day the undisclosed history of all the intrigues from the High Command down to the humblest member of the Legislative Assembly who are ranged on the side of Mr. Vallabhai Patel will have to be written and I have no doubt that its verdict will vindicate me and my desire to serve my country and to work for its freedom.

I may here mention that throughout the crisis His Excellency the Governor acted on the advice of the Premier as the Leader of the Majority Party, which was the only course open to a constitutional Governor in the circumstances.

The House will concede that there are other aspects of the question of my resignation, but I think the House is not interested in them. I, therefore, refrain from making any statement with regard to these aspects.

I thank all the sections of the House for the courtesy and consideration they have shown to me as long as I was the Leader of the House.

I thank you again for the courtesy extended to me.

IV

MARTIN LUTHER

Dr. Khare in the concluding remarks at a public meeting over which he presided, compared:—

The present working of the Congress organisation to the theocracy of Pope of the middle age, when all the Kings of Europe bowed before the Pope and Pope used to get anything done through the Agency of these Kings. Similarly, he said, Mahatma Gandhi who was not even a four anna member of the Congress was getting everything done in the Congress Provinces through his hierarchy and the Congress ministries subordinate to it. Blind faith in Roman Catholic Christianity had gone to the extent that money used to be paid to the Pope to acquire absolution from sin to the departed souls and Pope also issued all sorts of Farman which were more often than not ludicrous. When the situation became intolerable there arose Martin Luther who revolted against such obnoxious dogmas. Such was the birth of Christian Protestantism which had now outnumbered Catholicism. The same thing was happening, more or less in the Congress organisation.

"If you compare Mahatma Gandhi", continued Dr. Khare "to the Pope then you must compare me to Martin Luther. I have given this simile just to depict what might happen in future. I have been expelled from the Congress. I am not sorry for it. There are startling things happening in the Congress regime and I am proud that I disobeyed an unholy Farman".

Dr. Khare declared that he was still a congressman though only a Protestant congressman and he had as much right to think about the welfare of the Congress as any congressman. If he was criticising the Congress he was doing it with good intention of improving the Congress organisation for which Mahatma Gandhi himself was so

anxious. It was seen that throughout India there was chaos in the Congress organisation. Reason for it was not far to seek. It was due to the narrow sectarianism which had developed in the Congress and also the dictatorial mentality which was so much in evidence everywhere and unless this was remedied the Congress as an organisation would not prosper.

Gandhism, emphasised Dr. Khare, was responsible for the development of mentality which in his opinion was the outcome of dogmatism, mental slavishness and blind faith and he (Dr. Khare) was doing service to the Congress by placing before the Public its defects. There was no hatred, there was no malice. As long as Gandhism had the upperhand in the Congress the Congress organisation could not and would not improve. He desired that a strong nationalist revolutionary party should spring up in the Congress. After all, added Dr. Khare, Gandhism had its day. It did achieve what it could. Now it could not make any further progress. He felt sure that a day would come when the same fate which had overtaken the liberals would overtake Gandhism also. The liberals led the Congress movement for a time and are now absolutely in the background. Gandhism would come to share the same fate. The philosophy of both was practically the same. The liberals appealed to the Government with petitions and requests which meant appealing to the reason of the conquerers while Congress appeals with self-imposed sufferings by way of imprisonment etc, which was expected to appeal to the emotions of the conqueror.

Those who thought that the Congress would fight the Federation were in a fool's-paradise. Congress would do nothing of the kind. He had a glimpse of it on that fateful night of the 25th July at Shegaon, when Mahatma Gandhi himself talked to him (Dr. Khare) and asked who should be the first Federal Prime Minister. Dr. Khare felt they would deal with the Federation in the same way as they had dealt

with the Provincial Autonomy part of the constitution, because it seemed to him they were very much enamoured of office which was a new experience to them. So their "Nays" were like the "Noes" of a new bride which signified assent.

When they accepted the Federation it would be a sort of Partnership with British Imperialism and the big capitalists of India and the poor masses would be nowhere in the picture.

Dr. Khare concluded amidst cheers "I want the Congress to lead India to its gaol of independence but it cannot happen unless Gandhism perishes."

V

ELECT SUBHAS BOSE

27th June 1939

Dr. Khare in the course of a statement to the Congress Presidential election observes :—

Though I have been kept out of the Congress friends from various Provinces who are delegates have sought my advise in the matter of the Presidential Election of the Congress. Six members of the High Command have mis-used their position which they secured as a gift from Subhas by making a low demand for an unknown colleague of theirs and opposing their chief, elected by the Nation. The only reply that the Nation can give them for their unholy favouritism is to elect Subhas with overwhelming majority. These six also say they oppose Federation, but as I have already said that their "No is like the No of a newly wedded wife which always means Yes". On that fateful night of July 25th in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi the personnel of the first Federal Premier was discussed.

Above all where is Subhas who has sacrificed his all, even the prime of his life at the alter of the Congress and Pattabhi who could not win his Municipal Town and his District Board for the Congress though the entire Province captured by the Congress.

He concludes, "Can you expect Pattabhi who could not face the Justice Party in his Municipal Town to face British Imperialism at Delhi. Therefore, if you want to fight Imperialism and win freedom vote for Subhas and thus vote for Democracy and Swaraj.

VI

THE "DEPORTATION" OF SUBASH BABU.

Dr. Khare has issued the following statement to the press:—

I am interested in the controversy that is now raging in the C. P. Congress Assembly Party over Mr. Udhoji's cut motions. It will be remembered that one of them referred to the possible deportation or imprisonment of Subash Babu. Some Congressmen are furious about this cut motion. They think that the deportation of Subash is an impossibility but I do not think so. The Congress regime is the regime of miracles and even the impossible will become possible under the magic wand of Mahatma Gandhi. When Mahatma Gandhi can advise me, when I was Prime Minister, to prosecute Mr. Awari it is quite likely that similar advice might be given by him to other Congress Ministers regarding Subash Babu.

The following letter which I received from Mahatma Gandhi dated 15-10-37 from Shegaon, Wardha, is a pointer to the fate that is awaiting Subash Babu.

The Letter.

Dear Dr. Khare,

I think that General Awari should be warned by the P. C. C. and if he does not listen, I have, no doubt, that there should be a legal prosecution. But if you have any doubt yourself I am no authoritative guide. The only authority is the President or the Working Committee.

Yours Etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

VII CHALLENGE TO GANDHIJI

Nagpur, April 24, 1939.

Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-Premier of C. P. has addressed the following open letter to Mahatma Gandhi:—

Dear Mahatmaji,

In my present state of almost a political exile I have been watching with scrupulous care and attention your recent activities in the light of Truth and Ahimsa and I am so much confused—nay often bewildered—that I have thought it best to directly enquire of you to clear my doubts, and I dare say probably the doubts of many a young man who has sacrificed in former years the best that he had at your bidding for getting Swaraj for India.

I am not dwelling in this letter on your past activities preaching boycott of Councils, Schools and Law Courts, culminating in the active cooperation with all these institutions; so much so that, even unambiguous words expressing a clear desire of a departed patriot are submitted to a Court

of Law for a legalistic interpretation to suit the convenience of parties. But I shall confine myself to some of your present activities, designed as you say to purify the Congress. You have been writing in detail in the columns of "Harijan" about bogus members in the Congress, particularly in the present year. When Babu Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President of the Congress contrary to your wishes, you attributed it to bogus membership. But you have not cared to make any reference to this bogus membership, when the infamous resolution of Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant was passed at Tripuri.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND AFTER.

You proclaim you believe in absolute democracy and when Babu Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President, you stated that he was free to choose any Working Committee he liked and many of your trusted 12 disciples of the Working Committee declared publicly to the same effect. They said that they would co-operate with the President whenever possible, and they would keep quiet if it was not possible to do so and further that they would be the last persons to put spokes in his wheels. Is it not surprising, Mahatmaji, that in spite of this public declaration, an agitation beginning with the resignations of these 12 veterans actually engineered, fostered and encouraged by your article in the "Harijan" in which you proclaim that the election of Subhas was your defeat. This agitation sowed the seeds of that resolution of Pandit Pant at Tripuri and the whole of India now knows that all kinds of influences amounting to allurements and coercion were employed in securing votes for this resolution and yet your democratic conscience feels that S. Bose should interpret the resolution as he likes and carry it out. Mahatmaji, you undertook a fast for the soul of the Thakur Sahib of Rajkot. Don't you think Mahatmaji that such a fast on your part is more necessary for the benefit of some of your trusted twelve? The public is

bitterly in the dark with regard to the genesis of the Pant resolution. They are bewildered by the misleading statements and counter statements issued in this behalf. It is therefore necessary to know whether the resolution of Pandit Pant at Tripuri was drafted and moved with your previous approval and consent, you alone can throw any light on this if you so choose. Any way, if the resolution had your previous approval then the less said about it the better. If the resolution was sponsored without your knowledge, then its sponsors including Pandit Pant do not care to follow the advice which they have the temerity to tender to the elected tribune of the people.

THE RAJKOT FAST

When you found that your anti-Subhas campaign needed some more strength, you launched on the Rajkot fast, apparently to compel a Ruling Chief of a small State to act up to his word. In similar circumstances, Mr. Ruikar of Nagpur had undertaken a fast at Rajnandgaon and you thought it was violence to coerce any party by such methods.

Do you consider this fair and honest? Have you really achieved anything substantial by your Rajkot fast? Is it not a fact that the Rajkot sore has festered on account of the application of a humbug ointment? Mahatmaji, if the fast was for reforming the Ruling Chief's nature—why did you give up the fast as soon as H. E. the Viceroy agreed to refer your dispute to the Chief Justice of the Federal Court? Has the award satisfied the Bhayyats and Muslims to whom you had given solemn assurances? At the time of your fast and on the eve of the Tripuri Congress the Congress Ministries threatened to relinquish their responsibilities without reference to the Congress which was soon to meet and even without reference to the elected President. Has this action not lowered the prestige of the Congress and its President? And is this not an act of grave indiscipline and ugly haste?

Could they not have consulted the President on the phone? Then Mahatmaji why have not you uttered one single word in condemnation of this act? Does not this your silence mean encouragement to indisciplined Tamany Hall methods in Congress activities? I know you will trot out the excuse that you are not even a 4-anna member of the Congress—but Mahatmaji—do you think the public will believe this specially after Tripuri and after your confession that Pattabhi's defeat is your defeat."

NEGOTIATIONS WITH VICEROY.

Coming now to your recent frequent interviews with the Viceroy—I wish to know the need of such frequent and lengthy interviews after the decision of Sir Maurice Gwyer. No one will believe that you talked of the weather or spiritualism or for a matter of that stud-bulls during these interviews. The conversation must have centered round political issues like Federation, etc. Is there any resolution of the Congress as there was one when you were sent to the 'Round Table Conference' authorising you to negotiate with the Viceroy regarding India's future in the Federation. Mahatmaji, you abhor secret methods! Then why so much secrecy about these interviews? Why not take the public into your confidence and allay all doubts and suspicion?" And there are reasons for these suspicions to arise. The Lahore Congress under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has passed a resolution in favour of complete and undiluted independence. But you have, in effect whittled down this resolution by defining independence "as substance of independence". Whatever that may mean and report goes that you have done this in pursuance of an assurance given to Mr. Emerson, the then Home Secretary to Government of India during the famous Gandhi-Emerson interview which took place in March 1931 after the Gandhi-Irwin truce. I wonder why some of your lieutenants take delight in interviewing high government officials and joining

social functions. Is discipline not binding on them. Or had they taken permission of the Congress President under some special circumstances? Don't you think all these matters must be cleared up in the interests of the Congress itself.

SITUATION IN C. P.

Mahatmajji you always say that you want greater purity in the Congress Organisation and in the administration of Congress Provinces. Do you know that this purity is conspicuous by its absence in this province? Your trusted lieutenants have encouraged and helped some undesirable persons to be at the helm of Congress affairs. These are the persons who defied the order of the Congress President and set up a candidate on behalf of the Congress in a recent bye-election to this Provincial Assembly, got defeated and lowered the prestige of the Congress. I may also mention here the recent Nagpur Municipal muddle—wherein machiavellian tactics were employed to oust a set of office bearers to favour the Poonamchand-Aiwari group which was dear to the ministry and to the High Command. Numerous complaints have been made by Congressmen in Nagpur against the members of this group but nobody listens to them—no proper enquiry is even held by your Wardha lieutenants. All this relates to the Congress Organisation but in matters of administration of this province it is still worse. One responsible member of the Legislative Assembly had sent you certain papers about the character and antecedents of a C. P. Minister and you have received the same. Do you sincerely with God as your witness say and are you prepared to reply openly that a minister with the life described therein deserves to be a minister and that too a Congress Minister? I have sacrificed myself for the purity of the Congress and you only “talk” of purity. You do not want to remove this minister because his removal will mean full justification and complete vindication of my conduct during the ministerial crisis. Dear Mahatmajji, in spite of my rever-

reverence for you I feel that here is something wrong in your notions of ethics and morals if you can tolerate these impurities in the Congress organisation and the Congress Government of the Province.

WRECKING THE CONSTITUTION.

You proclaim from housetops and people like me here deeply believe that we were accepting office to wreck the reforms but what is happening? There is strike in Bombay and the Congress Government of Bombay which I hope has not yet forgotten the Jallianwala Bagh firing, orders firing on unarmed workers. The people of Madras started an anti-Hindi agitation and Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar uses much condemned weapon of Cr. Law Amendment Act to send to Jail peaceful agitators. Your ministers are criticized and they demand heavy security from the press—thus helping the much proclaimed liberty of the Press. Where is the wrecking or combating in all this? When you are put to it you say "do not make a fetish of a Congress resolution." You have said in an article that the Congress has entered upon an alliance with the British Government. This is the real truth which you have uttered. If you have entered into an alliance how can you fight? The Civil Service people must be literally laughing in their sleeves at finding how you have successfully killed the anti-imperialist feeling in the minds of the masses and have created in them a desire to flatter the tin gods of the Congress Committees to secure the mirage of Swaraj.

The local Marathi newspapers here have published a news here that you felt some qualms of conscience at having made an untrue and foolish charge in the Working Committee resolution against H. E. Sir Francis Wylie the Governor of C. P. and Berar who terminated the services of your present pet ministers and that at Delhi at the Viceregal lodge you apologised to him. The country would like to know if there is any truth in this report.

A CHALLENGE.

As I have already said before, the action I have taken before what is known as the Khare-episode in the Congress history was taken to purify the Congress Cabinet and the administration, and to wipe out cowardice, treachery, hypocrisy and lack of character but you and your Working Committee thought otherwise and butchered me at the Congress altar—yet this letter will show that I am still alive and kicking. The Working Committee has first expelled me from the Congress and then demanded my resignation from the Provincial Assembly. I have not swerved an inch from my loyalty to the Congress for the past twenty years but I am not going to obey this mandate of the Working Committee asking me to resign from the Assembly—not because I feel attached to my seat in the Assembly but because I firmly believe that it is cowardice to obey discipline when it is prostituted to serve the unholy ambitions of a group of a junta. The Hon'ble Pt. D. P. Misra has thrown out a public challenge to me on the Jallianwalabagh day meeting asking me to resign and stand for re-election to the Provincial Assembly in order to test my popularity in my constituency. My popularity has been proved in the recent bye-election to the Assembly when a candidate supported by me from the same constituency was returned by thumping majority in spite of vigorous opposition from Congress Ministers and official Congress group. This is one reason why I need not accept that challenge, second being that I am not accustomed to accept challenges from those who are not my equals.

In spite of all this I am quite willing to obey discipline, resign my seat and stand for re-election on one condition and one condition alone and that being that you should stand against me as an official Congress Candidate. I don't know whether your name is on the voters' list; even if it is not there, there will not be any great difficulty in your way of

standing as candidate because the Congress Ministry in this province can surely issue an ordinance declaring you a voter for the purpose of bye-election.

I have made bold to write this open letter because I believe that you and some of your lieutenants by your recent activities are writing an epitaph of the Congress which you have so carefully nursed in the past. Awaiting your esteemed reply.

Yours sincerely,

N. B. KHARE.

VIII

"THE CONFESSION OF A THUG"

Dr. N. B. Khare the 'axed' Premier of the Central Provinces created a special interest in the Poona Spring Lecture Series this year. On account of the many acts of omission and commission of the Congress High Command headed by Mahatma Gandhi, the atmosphere was surcharged with anti-Gandhi feeling. Dr. Khare's subject of discourse was "the Present Political Situation." Mr. S. L. Karandikar presided.

Rising amidst cheers, Dr. Khare thanked the Poona public for the warm welcome they had given him and said "I shall not go into the Congress politics as such. I was a Congressman—I am still a Congressman but a Protestant Congressman. If Mahatma Gandhi were compared to the Pope I would be the Martin Luther (Laughter)."

"There are", continued Dr. Khare "Extremists, Moderates, Muslim Leaguers and Hindu Sabhaites. All are striving for one common goal the restoration of India's "lost freedom.". Europe is threatened with war. It is a struggle for the reconquest of the lost territories. The Congress is striving to regain India's political freedom. But acceptance of office has stifled the militant mentality of the Congress. The Congress has been enacting a political farce for the last 18 months. The prelude began in November 1937 at Calcutta and as facts would bear it out the drop was rung in April 1939 at that very place, (Loud cheers and Laughter.)

"A Colossal Failure"

Civil Disobedience having proved a colossal failure the Congress changed its tactics and resorted to office acceptance. Politics, no doubt is a game of changes. The Faizpur Congress supported Council entry. I then felt and feel even now that too many promises were held out to the electorate. And when the Congress decided on office acceptance, I do know the "secret" promises that were made. In June preceding the acceptance of office by the Congress Mr. C. Rajgopalachariar had, in clear violation of the Congress commands, two clandestine interviews at the Government House. Rajaji's move to Tithal thereafter to discuss Kathopnishad with Gandhiji was only an appearance.

Trampling Under Foot

Today every Congress Ministry is trampling under foot the election manifesto. I too did the same. (Laughter.) Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Emerson met twice and the talk of Complete Independence was whittled down to "Substance of Independence." It is interesting to note the make up of the several Congress Ministries. Rajaji is Gandhiji's kin. Pandit Pant has Jawaharlal at his back. Mr. Kher has Bhulabhai, Vallabhbhai and Deo (ironical cheers). This

trio is like the Frontier Gandhi's bodyguard. The Central Provinces alone had a different tale to tell. Khare and Bajaj were at daggers drawn.

It has Demoralised

Office acceptance, added the Nagpur Martin Luther, has demoralized the Congress. The Congressmen have become intoxicated with power. These ex-convicts had suffered much in jails and no wonder freedom and power has run riot with them. The Socialists had raised their heads at Calcutta. At Haripura much was made of the Bihar Ministerial crisis to side track the socialist rising. To stick to offices by any means was their sole aim.

The Enemies.

Referring to the high-handedness of the so-called Congress High Command Dr. Khare said: "Even a simple measure coming from me—like the declaration of the Independence Day as a holiday was turned down. Nariman was butchered. Then came my turn. (Pointing to Mr. Deo). This gentleman was there (Ironical cheers) on that memorable night of July 25 when I refused to sign my death warrant. Subhas Babu came to me and said Vallabhbhai and Gandhi are both antagonistic to you and to me. These were his words. They have proved true now. The conspiracy to pull Bose down was being hatched for some time. Attempts were made ere and anon but Bose was stuck to his post till he was torn like an ant from a sweet cake. Nehru and Bose have been rivals for long. The success of Subhas despite the efforts of Gandhiji had to be avenged and Rajkot afforded a good scare. Like a prostitute described so well in the *Mritcha Katik* Gandhiji has his heart in Tripuri while his eyes were in Rajkot.

Charwoman Not Chairwoman.

With Nariman crushed in Bombay and Khare axed in the C. P. came third act of Congress villainy to be staged at

Rajkot. The fourth was enacted at Tripuri where Subhas was taken to the gallows and strings fastened round his neck. With the execution of Subhas Bose at the Calcutta A. I. C. C. ended the last act of the Drama. Subhas Babu is too simple for the High Command villainy, lacking as he does the breeding of the Sahyadri waters. But even though axed to death I will like an ever hunting ghost sit on their chests and never give them rest (cheers). Mrs. Sarojini Naidu verily acted like a charwoman (mis-pronounced Chairwoman) in that she charred Bose.

The Thug Confesses.

You can't deceive all men for all times and the Mahatma has come to grief at Rajkot. His fast was an act of "himsa", his action was a double game says the Mahatma. This statement will go down in history as "The Confession Of A Thug." (Loud Cheers). It is but meet that people beware hereafter atleast.

Religion and Politics.

Commenting on mixing religion with politics, Dr. Khare concluded, "the present day politics has acclaimed Gandhiji as the Sage, accepted spinning as the country's vocation, acknowledged the Viceroy as the Deity for adoration. Drink "Nira" and pray for Swaraj is the gospel. Wear loin cloth and go supplicating for the mercies of the Viceroy is the slogan that guides the actions of the Congressmen".

IX

RESOLUTION re. WAR

6th November 1939

Dr. N. B. KHARE (Nagpur City): Mr. Speaker, sir,
 1.35 p.m. some friends had come to me just now being nervous of what I was going to say. I have given notice of an amendment and I am bound to speak on

it and I shall express my thoughts and sentiments in unmistakable language. No one should bar me from doing it. I have moved this amendment, sir, with a purpose, a serious purpose, behind it and my friends should not take it in a lighter vein. But they should take it as seriously as possible. From appearances they should not be deceived because appearances are always deceptive, but they should know that I am moving this amendment, with a serious motive. This is a critical time concerning the future history of the nation and everyone must feel great fear or hope whatever it may be, about what is going to happen to this country. Sir as an Indian and as a protestant Congressman, as I call myself, (Laughter) I am second to none in my steadfast loyalty towards the highest aspirations and ideals of my beloved motherland for which I sacrificed at least twenty years of my life, if not more, in my own humble way. So my friends need have no misgivings about my amendment, This should remove all their suspicions.

Sir, I have given notice of this amendment because although I am in entire agreement with the sentiments and ideas behind the resolution and also generally expressed in the speech of the Hon'ble the Prime Minister, to me it appears that the resolution itself is conceived and drafted with a mental reservation. That is my fear—not only fear but it is my conviction. My friend, the hon'ble member from Arvi, in his eloquent speech, which I admire most, expressed great satisfaction at the speech made by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister. "Let us dispel all the doubts in our minds" said the member of the Forward Bloc. Well, sir, I do not belong to any bloc. I only belong to one bloc—that is the whole of India. But, sir, unfortunately I am not so credulous as my friend the hon'ble member from Arvi, because for the simple reason that I had my associations with my erstwhile colleagues—the High Command and no less a person than Mr. Gandhi himself earlier than the hon'ble member, and consequently I had closer

association than the hon'ble member himself and therefore I claim to know their mind and their psychological reactions more than he can. Therefore I am not credulous as the hon'ble member. That is the reason, sir, why I have brought this amendment, and I will talk only reason today, sir.

As I said in the beginning I am an ardent lover of freedom, and democracy. But unfortunately of late the organization—I mean the Indian National Congress—has fallen from the path of democracy. I make this charge with the fullest responsibility. This is a resolution about war. The war has come upon us. The Congress in its plenary sessions has been passing anti-war resolutions for the last ten or twelve years till the last session held at Haripura. I believe it was also passed at the Tripuri session—I stand subject to correction because I was not present there. In that resolution the words may have been changed but the central idea was that when there is war for the aggrandisement of British Imperialism India will not only not participate in that war but resist it. No plenary session of the Indian National Congress has been held either to cancel, rescind, amend or modify that resolution. It stands as a supreme mandate for the nation for its conduct in the matter of war. And yet what do we find today? A session of the Congress has not been held to get this resolution changed. But attempts are being made by those in whose hands the execution of the policy of the Congress lies to get that resolution surreptitiously changed. What power have they got to change that resolution? They are not their own masters; they are the servants of the Indian National Congress. They cannot rule the Congress; they must be ruled by the Congress. And yet without holding any session they are trying to weaken that resolution. The Congress has not got its former strength. It is riddled with parties, schisms, groups and so on. Mr. Gandhi himself has said so. I, sir, am entirely in agreement with Mr. Gandhi in this matter. I disagree with him sometimes; but in this

matter I am entirely in agreement with him. But I would humbly suggest that in this behalf the greatest sinner is Mr. Gandhi himself. Why, sir, because he is primarily responsible for attempting this formation of groups and parties; because when Mr. Bose stood for the presidential election before the Tripuri congress against Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, who was Mr. Gandhi's nominee, and got elected, Mr. Gandhi wrote in his paper *Harijan* that "Mr. Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat". If this is not group forming, if this is not forming schisms, I want to know what it is? In this matter Mr. Gandhi had formed a party for himself to which Mr. Bose did not belong, and all the blame rests upon the shoulders of Mr. Gandhi although he may not be in the Congress. The blame belongs to him. Therefore, sir, what happened is this, that step by step we have fallen from our ideal; and so much so that when the Congress Ministries were formed a great hue and cry was raised for gaining some sort of assurances from the British Government. I do not know whether we have gained any assurance or not—Mr. Rajagopalachari who is closely related to Mr. Gandhi knows better; but a hue and cry was raised and the assurance demanded was that the Governors shall not interfere with the day-to-day administration. Quite right. If it is so, if such a great hue and cry was raised, then the most natural action for the Congress to take was that as soon as the British Parliament passed an amendment to the Government of India Act curtailing all the power of Provincial Government and consigning them into the hands of the Viceroy, then and at that very moment all the Ministers ought to have protested and should have resigned in all the provinces simultaneously. If that would have happened it would have been an act of great moral grandeur and perhaps the British Government would have taken a lesson. But the Congress did not care although the assurances have been broken and have been trampled under the heeled foot; they went on functioning under the administration of the British Government. The ordinances were passed without their consent. The Hon. Mr.

Pandit R. S. Shukla : No.) My friend the Prime Minister says that they were not; he may be quite right. Perhaps he may not have been consulted because he is not in the inner circle. But I make this statement on the floor of this House with all the responsibility that I can command that before the ordinances were promulgated by the Viceroy, the Madras Premier was consulted and he had given his assent. Is this not changing the decision of the Congress? It is a direct breach of faith, a defiance of discipline. (*Some hon'ble members : Wah !*) They say *wah* ; but I am talking seriously. Anybody is entitled to controvert my argument hereafter. I am not denying him the right. That is why the Forward Bloc had to be brought into being to counteract the mischievous tendency. And the resolution is couched in the language as it is. Why? Because the British Government has spurned the demand of the Congress. I feel sorry for it. My regret is as great as that of anybody else. But let us introspect for a minute why it is so. Had the Congress not lost its pristine glory, this catastrophe would not have befallen us. All of us should introspect and retrospect. This is what Mahatma Gandhi has said. The British Government has dared to give us this reply because the Congress.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : That is not relevant.

I am showing how they are committing errors. And, sir, when the ordinances were being codified into law in the Central Legislature, my friends, the protagonists of the members here, quietly walked away from there and allowed the ordinances to be passed. They afforded facilities to the Government of India but they still tell the masses that they are fighting. I want to know whether this is honesty of purpose or sincerity of purpose. I do not want to believe in two voices, as Mr. Bose said.

Then, sir, there is no fighting programme drawn up by the Congress to suit this action and perhaps, as remarked by

Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, as far as I know, there is no determination but drift. The first reaction of Mr. Gandhi was that you must co-operate with the British Government unconditionally. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came from Rangoon with the internationally minded idea from the Air, and says India must plump for democracy and co-operate with Britain. This is his aerial achievement? These were their spontaneous reactions. Afterwards they sat and he was asked to draft some sort of a resolution. This resolution moved by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister was drafted and conceived under the sinister shadow of the saintly sinner of Shegaon and Sabarmati. I have my doubts about it, and that is why I am moving this amendment. It is just like this. You are entertained as a guest in a house. You put up there. You are satisfied and you had a good time. The host is tired of you and gives you a decent warning and you go. But then, while going, you turn your neck towards the door and cast wistful glances at the host. This is the mentality. The thing is that the Congress decision is there. You yourself have passed it. Why then have any hesitancy? Why not do things in a straightforward manner? If you want to co-operate, say so in a straight manner. Why say one thing on the face and other things on the back? This is how things have been going on. And that is my contention. I move this amendment but I have great fears in this. A few minutes before, all sorts of talking took place. But why have all that when you decided to do a certain thing? As the House is aware, at the second Round Table Conference Mr. Gandhi was appointed as the sole representative of the Congress. This was done at the Karachi Congress. This time the Congress resolution passed at previous Congresses is there which gives the mandate to pitch your full strength to resist the War. But it is being changed by the Congress leaders and by Mahatma Gandhi and they take delight in intriguing with the powers that be. Who gave the powers or the authority to negotiate now? I know the inner councils and can say, without any fear of contra-

diction, that they have taken it upon themselves to negotiate. I want to know if this is not intrigue. This sort of intrigue is nothing but a dishonour to Congress. It is said that this has been done by a Committee composed of big people. If this would have been done by poor men, it would be considered as sin, but since it has been done by big people, it is not considered as such. My contention is that this sort of authority can only be given by the electorate. If such an action is considered necessary why not take a mandate from them? It is however construed as diplomacy, and even here I am afraid some bungling is likely to happen. As regards the question of the action to be taken with the speech of Lord Zetland, matters ought to have been closed to both parties. The powers however desired to keep the door open. In this matter, I must say to my chargin, that the diplomacy of the British Government has succeeded and Congress diplomacy has miserably failed. The Congress policy is being twisted to serve selfish ends, and is carried on on the lines of party politics. There is no abstract justice or high ideals. I have no ill-will against it but everybody is convinced of it. Even a man on the road is convinced that it is true. So, Sir, if the question of fight is decided upon, why not say so straightaway and act upon it? The real thing is that, as power in the provinces is at present in the hands of Mr. Gandhi's devotees or assoicates, things are being manipulated to have some power transferred in their hands in the Central Government. If that step were taken, Congress would be satisfied with some sort of a wordy statement or declaration from the British Government. The crux of the problem is that the people who have the Congress power in their hands at present do not want to part with that power. On the contrary they desire to have more power in the hands of their coterie, but say that it is all for the masses. You can therefore understand the real situation. The resolution is conceived in such a manner as to make room for political tactics. I do not want to have a room for such tactics. People have come to know all these tactics

and it is no use playing the same game. If you have done good to the masses and for India, why not face them boldly? Why should you be afraid of the electorates? You have the statement of the British Government and their declarations. If you have decided upon some sort of direct action, why not tell the electorate straightaway of what you are going to do? The fact is they have not that grit. They want to make a show by withdrawing Ministries and keeping to the Assembly halls. None can rely on these professions now. They want to bring forward amendments worded in such a manner that they want to have the praises of this house by showing dissociation from the Government. Various sorts of moves have been made for asking the members of this House to withdraw their amendments. But I will never withdraw mine.

Sir, a very sad thing took place today. This morning there was a wrangle between my friend from Arvi and my friend from Yeotmal representing the Muslims. Sir, I do not want to apportion the blame to them in the wrangle at all, but I must say one thing. If really this country is to progress, we must have some sort of common line of action. It may not appeal to the Musalmans. I do not want to offend them. But I feel that the country cannot progress unless, as in the rest of the world, we form parties, not on religious or other communal grounds, but on common political and economic programme. This is entirely incontrovertible proposition in any country. I say that with emphasis, without any fear of being challenged. Unless there is some such programme, there is no salvation for this country. I am perfectly certain of the success of such a programme. The general trend of the speeches, including that of the Premier, who rose to heights at times, is the same. The speeches are nothing else, but a long drawn out pathetic wail of hopes deferred and desires unfulfilled. When this trouble was going on in the House, I was reminded of the story in Ramayana. King Dasharath

had three wives—Kausalya, Sumitra and Kaikai. Kaikai was married by King Dasharath in his old age; and she was in her blooming youth. As it usually happens, on account of her blooming youth and the old age of Dasharath, she had a great sway over her Lord Dasharath. So when it came to the point of declaring the Crown Prince, she insisted that neither Rama, the son of Kausalya, nor Laxman, the son of Sumitra, should be declared as Crown Prince. She said that her son Bharat must be declared as Crown Prince and that Rama and Laxman must be sent to exile in the wilderness. Sir, without offending anybody, shall I take the simile a little further? I mean no offence to anybody. May I name the three wives, as Kausala the Hindus, Sumitra the Muslims and Kaikai the Congress. (Laughter.) Sir, nobody cares for the Hindus and the Muslims.....

Mr. T. J. KEDAR: Who is Raja Dasharath?

Dr. N. B. KHARE: You can imagine who that is? You can please yourself, (Laughter.)

Sir, Kausalya the Hindu wife and Sumitra the Muslim wife have become old; but, sir, Kaikai the young wife, whom British Imperialism married very recently (Laughter) is in her youth, and you can imagine the intensity of the love that Dasharath will have for her. Time has come when the young wife on account of the power she holds on her Lord—owing to his old age—has threatened to be sullen—(रुठ गई है) as it is called in Hindi. There is a drama in Sanskrit. In the olden days, sir, in the palaces of Kings there used to be separate apartments for diverse purposes. There used to be a *Shy-nagar* (bed chamber), as also a *Kopagar* (a chamber of anger), that is to say, the room that was used for giving vent to anger when anyone of the Royal family felt angry. What we see today is that Kaikai, the Congress Ministry, at the dictation of Manthara, the Parliamentary Sub-Committee (Laughter), is threatening

Dasharath that she will leave the bed chamber and will enter the *Kopagar*. (*Hear, hear, from opposition benches.*) She is entering the *Kopagar* (the chamber of anger) with her hair dishevelled, her dress disarranged her eyes red with anger and her face blackened with the kajjal, flowing with tears from the eyes. There is a very beautiful description given in the drama—I will recommend it to every one. That is what is happening before our eyes today. At the behest of Manthara, the Congress Ministries (this is all one organization) are threatening to leave their offices. Just as Manthara was the friend, philosopher, guide, chaperon and chambermaid of Kaikai, so is the Parliamentary Sub-Committee the friend, philosopher, guide, chaperon and chambermaid of the Ministry. No one can deny that fact. My friend from University said the same thing and I am also saying the same thing: only in a little different way. To revert to the story, Manthara advised Kaikai to enter the *Kopagar* with a view to force Lord Dasharath to flatter her, woo her, and to act according to her desire. The same thing is being repeated here. The Congress Ministries are threatening to go into wilderness. I really cannot understand, sir, what is the quarrel. Madam Kaikai is saying: Look here, Mr. Dasharath, ornaments first and co-operation afterwards; and Dasharath is saying: No, madam, co-operation first and ornaments afterwards. The British Government is telling the Congress to co-operate first and not to lay stress on declaration. Thus, sir, this is only a small quarrel; a quarrel of the nature of a domestic quarrel. I really cannot understand why all this fuss is being made about it. How can one take it seriously? The Congress does not want to fight. It says, there is nothing doing. We cannot do anything; we are powerless. I say, sir, if you are powerless why non-co-operate? I say, sir, if you feel powerless make yourself strong and powerful. Agitate. As it is you are simply standing and helping the destruction of democracy. I lay emphasis upon this that at present in Congress organizations there is no democracy. The whole

thing is governed by a bureaucracy, autocracy, plutocracy and conspiracy and intrigue. Nothing more than that (*Hear hear, from opposition benches.*) (V. Y. Tamaskar: कबसे हुई है यह बात). जबसे आप मानते हैं. Therefore, Sir, if you are honest about it, then accept my amendment which will bang the doors against all this mischievousness and machiavellian tactics. If you want to fight it, go to the electorate, tell them the whole story, prepare them and face the Government with their fresh mandate. Then you will get something. These are the ways of fighting.

I have moved this amendment with all seriousness. I may assure the hon'ble members that I have got cogent arguments to support it; but I do not want to detain the house longer. Sir, I may not belong to majority party; I do not belong; but I am still a Protestant Congressman. I am guided by the same ideals. If you vote for my amendment and pass it, and if you bring it into effect, if all the Congressmen resign, let me assure you, sir, that I will also resign with them. (Interruption.) Sir, I do not claim the hon'ble member there who interrupts me as my guide and philosopher. (Laughter.) Then, sir, I am with them and I will resign with them; but if they do not accept it, my charge against them of mental reservation will be proved beyond doubt and they can pursue their own path; I have nothing to do with it. I cannot be a party to a resolution which I suspect was not made with an honest intention. The countryside will be awakened if the members of the majority party resign and they may at least go some paces in their forward march. Therefore, I say they should not shirk at this time. But I am sure, sir that since they expect a compromise in couple of months by some temptations or by some ornaments, they expect that Madam Kaikevi will soon migrate from the *Kopagraha* to the *Sa'anagraha*. I need not say anything further on this point; but having levelled charges of hypocrisy, autocracy and what not, I must give some reasons for these charges.....

Mr. T. J. KEDAR: But, sir, what happened to Dashrath?

Dr. N. B. KHARE: You must imagine that. There are some dramas in which the end is not in sight. (Laughter.)

Sir, I have said that all things in the Congress organization are mostly managed by personal considerations. It is not the case of the Ministries only, but even in the higher sphere the Mantharas also have done the same thing. When I was Prime Minister I got a letter from no less a person than the President of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee asking me to give a contract to a certain firm

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I cannot allow this.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: Sir, this is an argument to prove my point and nothing more than that.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Your amendment is that the members of the majority party should resign. You should, therefore, speak either on the amendments or on the resolution.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I have said that there is no democracy in the Congress. If you want to rule me out, I am at your disposal and I will accept it under protest.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Let the hon'ble member go on with his speech.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I have also received requests for the release of certain persons before the expiry of their term of imprisonment, for the appointment of certain persons as High Court Judges, and all sorts of similar demands, but not a single demand was made for a fighting programme. We came to combat the constitution. After all, what happened is that the twentieth century dictionary of Chambers was corrected so as to spell the word wreck not as "wreck" but as "work".

and it is admitted by the Premier himself in his speech that he got a good certificate. Sir, I wanted to start a small fighting programme by declaring a holiday for Independence Day. The President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, wrote to me a letter that I should proceed with the matter further and that he was writting to other Congress Premiers to raise the same question, but in the end he let me down. If these things are happening, I do not see any point in such a resolution. Let us go back to the electorate. I do not want to impose my will on the minority; if they think it right to resign, they can do so; I will welcome it, but it should be a matter for their choice.

Now, sir, there is an amendment moved by my friend, Thakur Chhedilal, from Bilaspur, about the confidence in the Ministry. Some people tried to persuade me not to speak on that. They told me also that Thakur Chhedilal is not going to make a speech praising the Ministry. I said I would not be persuaded. I know, sir, that since the mover has not opened his lips and will speak last, whatever facts I give will be twisted and used against me later on. But I will take that risk and speak. It has been so arranged, I understand, that the mover of the amendment is going to speak later on, as the amendment is still before the House. Sir, if you look at it from any aspect either on a personal or ministerial or on the Congress aspect as a whole, I have my differences and, I think, I am entitled to give my grounds for these differences. I will simply retail facts as I know them and leave the House to draw its own conclusions. If somebody says, "Do not talk anything about the personal", I ask, "Why, you tried to have a snatch vote of confidence; why do you want it? There is a motive behind it". I do not want this to be done without going into the pros and cons. It is very painful to me, but I shall be failing in my duty if I do not do so. I will tell the House that I have no bitterness against anybody whatsoever. Sir, the hon'ble member, the mover of the

amendment, was the Chief Whip of the Party when I was the Leader, and today he has come forward to move an amendment to take a vote of confidence from the House in the Ministry. But, at the time when the first Congress Ministry was formed, my friend, the hon'ble mover, from Janjgir, had warned me and distinctly warned me against the inclusion of Messrs. Shukla and Mehta in the Cabinet

Thakur CHHEDILAL (Janjgir): Mr. Speaker, sir, if these personalities are going to be discussed and if you consider them to be relevant, I have not the least objection to them. But I would request the hon'ble member who is speaking not to speak falsehoods.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: Sir, I repudiate the statement. I will now prove what I said. In addition, sir, this hon'ble member insisted that the Police Department should be given to Mr. Misra. If the hon'ble member says that the statements are false, I will prove them.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: It is very wrong—though it may be strictly within the rights of an hon'ble member in this House—it is very wrong from the point of view of propriety that private communications should be referred to in this debate.

Mr. V. R. KALAPPA: When lovers quarrel, they exchange their letters!

Dr. N. B. KHARE: Sir, this is a letter received from Thakur Chhedilal, dated the 11th July 1937.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: I would request the hon'ble member, sir—I would make a personal request to him as my *ex*-Chief—not to read the letter. During the period we had been working together numerous letters must have passed between him and members of the Congress Party; he may have preserved a few of these, although, I feel, most of them

have been published by now. But there are, sir members of his *ex*-Cabinet, who may also have his letters in their possession. In spite of the fact that the fascimilies of numerous letters have been published by him, so far we have refrained from giving publicity to anything written by him. I would, therefore, appeal to him as my *ex*-Chief that he should not read private letters on the floor of the House, especially on an occasion when we are discussing a question not only of India-wide importance, but world-wide importance. If the letter must be published he may publish it in a newspaper. Sir, I would again request him to drop the matter.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I would have very gladly accepted the appeal made by the hon'ble member, but my statement has been called a false one and my honesty has been questioned.

Mr. T. J. KEDAR: Suppose he withdraws the word "false" which is unparliamentary?

Mr. V. R. KALAPPA: I would request the hon'ble member to withdraw the word "false" and I would also request the Doctor not to read the letter.

Mr. P. L. DHAGAT: I rise on a point of order. My submission is that the amendment which Dr. Khare has moved refers only to questions relating to the Ministry and not with matters which relate to Thakur Chhedilal. I therefore submit that no correspondence which has passed between Thakur Chhedilal and Dr. Khare is relevant and it should not be read in this House.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA; I want to add a few words, sir. Whatever my friend Thakur Chhedilal wrote about Mr. Mehta to Dr. Khare is absolutely irrelevant. I might have had confidence in Dr. Khare, in the past. I might have told so many people that he was a good man. Today I may change my opinion. I do not see the relevancy of Thakur Chhedilal's letter so far as this Ministry is concerned. It has

nothing to do with either the amendment or resolution under discussion or any other issue before us.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: But my difficulty is this. Although I hold it to be wrong from a decency point of view, I do not see how I can prohibit his reading the letter, because, as he says, it will substantiate his argument. There is a clear distinction between an irrelevant thing and a wrong thing or a thing which may not prove your case. Even then I would tell the hon'ble member that it is really very wrong that private correspondence should be read or referred to and the compromise suggested by the hon'ble member from Arvi is a sound one. We are now discussing a serious problem and are engaged in a debate of a high order in which every hon'ble member has so far tried to maintain a high level.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: Including myself.

Mr. T. J. KEDAR: We all endorse that.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: And therefore I say that my interest lies in seeing that this high level which has been tried so be maintained so far should be further kept up. It should not deteriorate and come to something personal. Therefore, I say the way suggested is very very honourable for all concerned and that certain words that have escaped the lips of one hon'ble member should be withdrawn and then that should close the chapter. I do not feel inclined to give a ruling. I may be helpless. I desire that the course suggested should be followed and I would request the hon'ble member accordingly.

Mr. IFTIKHAR ALI: Sir, this is not the first time when private letters have been read on the floor of this House.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Let matters be smoothed and not aggravated.

Mr. K. P. PANDE: Sir, I may state for the information of hon'ble members that once confidential letters were read in this House and the Ministry had to go.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: We should tread the path of smoothness rather than worsen matters.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: If he admits that these things are facts, then that is all; then I will not read the letter. If he does not admit that, I have no alternative but to read the letter.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I am afraid you won't be adding to the dignity of the debate thereby.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I do not agree.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: Sir, I think that you should give a ruling on the point. May I at the same time point out that the letter was written by Thakur Chhedilal to Dr. Khare—of course I have not read the letter, but that is what I gather from what has been said now in this House—at a time when Dr. Khare was the Leader? So far as the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta is concerned, he was a member of the old Cabinet also. The letter has nothing to do with the present Ministry, which is called Shukla Ministry. I, therefore, think that the letter cannot be read. At any rate, it is not going to help the House to decide anything so far as the question of confidence or no confidence in the present Ministry is concerned. I, therefore, think, sir, that you should rule out the reading of this letter as irrelevant.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: That is unreasonable.

The Hon'ble Mr. D. K. MEHTA: May I, sir, draw your attention to clause (ii) of rule 28 of the Rules of Business of this Assembly? In its light, I think that the reading of that letter or the divulging of its contents amounts to making a charge against an hon'ble member of this House—the member for Janjgir. To say that a certain person has written

that so and so should not be included in the Cabinet is bound to reflect unfavourably on the character of the author of the statement.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I do not take that view.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: Sir, I would submit that the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta is a member of the present Cabinet and that makes all the difference.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: There is no difference at all. At best you may make out a distinction.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: Sir, I would request that the wishes of this House in this matter be taken into consideration.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: And the rights of the members should also be preserved.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I must once again appeal with all the emphasis I can command, and I feel that it should carry more weight that any dry ruling that I may give, with the best endeavour to be fair to all. I would appeal to the hon'ble member with all the emphasis I can command to refrain from reading that letter because I have no doubt that it is very wrong to refer here to any private correspondence, because no private correspondence will be safe if it could be given publicity to, on any occasion, small or great. I should even have liked to rule out the reading if it could possibly be done; but I think I am helpless in the matter. However, I feel very strongly on it and would once again repeat my request to the member concerned to accept the compromise suggested by the hon'ble member for Arvi, as it is the right course to be adopted in such cases.

Mr. T. J. KEDAR: May I suggest one thing? There is one thing which can be said in this painful affair. Sometimes

we all use words like "falsehood", "lies", which are most unparliamentary, when we really only want to convey the meaning of "incorrect or wrong". There is no harm in substituting the words incorrect, or wrong, for falsehood, etc.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: But he must admit it.

Mr. T. J. KEDAR: Supposing that Thakur Chhedilal does not want to withdraw the whole statement unconditionally, he could say that the word "falsehood" is wrong. In that case, Dr. Khare could be persuaded not to read the letter.

The Revd. G. C. ROGERS: Sir, I should like to point out that "falsehood" is a statement with intent to deceive; while an incorrect statement is one which, although it results in deception, has no intention behind it.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: Sir, verily, a Daniel has come to judgment!

Sir, there is nothing at all very drastic in this letter. No one need be afraid of it. It is correspondence of a public character and not of a private nature, inasmuch as it is a letter from the Whip of a Party to its Leader.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: I withdraw my appeal, sir, and the hon'ble member might read the letter and please himself.

Mr. R. G. TIWARI: Then it would seem that it is dangerous to write letters to the hon'ble member.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I leave it to you to decide. This is what the letter says:

"When I see the Cabinet being filled with Pro-Raoites I simply despair. You know that we have been supporting the formation of the Ministry mostly with the object

of combating the evil influences of Rao. If Mehta, who could congratulate Rao on his appointment as Governor, and Shukuljee, who always, may be due to accident, acts in line or in consonance with the policy of Rao, predominate, what hope we can have from this Ministry. We, and I voice the feeling of at least fifteen Council members, will feel intensely dissatisfied, if some kind of favouritism and lack of principle is shown in the distribution of portfolios. You must know that Law and Order must go to Mishrajee."

Mr. K. P. PANDE: What is there in it after all?

Dr. N. B. KHARE: You have got all that is relevant there.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: Sir, may I request you to ask the hon'ble member to read the whole of the letter?

Dr. N. B. KHARE: That is my letter. I refuse to read it.

Thakur CHHEDILAL: Sir, let him read the whole letter. It will expose him more.

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: If the hon'ble member does not read the whole of that letter, the House will certainly presume that it contains some things which go against him.

Mr. K. P. PANDE: I submit, sir, that the House is entitled to hear the whole letter.

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I have read the portions which concern the Ministers.

Mr. K. P. PANDE: Why does the hon'ble member feel shy of reading the letter *in extenso*?

Dr. N. B. KHARE: I am not shy. There is nothing in the letter which will affect me.

Mr. K. P. PANDE: Then let him muster up courage and read it.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I am not sure, but I think there is some ruling that if a member reads a portion of a letter he can be compelled to read the whole letter. If any hon'ble member is very keen to have the whole letter read, then I shall have to hunt up the ruling. Is the hon'ble member serious?

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. MISRA: Sir, we want to save time. We will not insist on having the whole letter read and the hon'ble member may again please himself!

Mr. K. P. PANDE: Yes, sir, I am occasionally very serious, but I have to be not so at this time.

Dr N. B. KHARE: The insistence of the hon'ble member from Bilaspur even before the Ministry was formed that the police portfolio should be given to a certain member is most intriguing. There is sufficient reason to show why Thakur Chhedilal was insisting that the police portfolio should go to a particular Minister. I do not want to go any further. The whole province is aware of it on account of the public disclosures made in the press and platform. This shows how they were working even at that time to get hold of the police portfolio and for what, sir, I can understand and you all understand. Now, sir, it is very interesting to see that the hon'ble member who has moved the amendment of confidence in the Hon'ble Ministers was not liking certain members of the Cabinet at one time and now he is demanding a vote of confidence from this House. If I go into details and the history concerning this Ministry I can give cogent reasons and detailed facts also about every Minister with documents. But it will take six or eight hours and I am not going to do it. I am satisfied with showing this little glimpse regarding the Ministry as there is a move for getting a vote of confidence in the Ministry from this House. I am also

aware how it is manœuvred to take a snap vote on this. I am sure that whatever I may have said or I may say will not appeal to this House. But I am absolutely certain that the people outside this House know what sort of public propaganda is being done about the Ministry by bringing such amendment for confidence in the Ministry. The public is fully aware, and many members of this House are also aware, why such an amendment is brought before the House. No decent person has got confidence in this Ministry. I am certain, sir, that both facts and reason and arguments and morality are on my side, but I also know that the numbers are on their side—I mean the numbers which will carry their amendment. After all, they may gladden their hearts. But people at large outside the four walls of this House will judge by facts about this majority party. The vote will show to the public how they are constituted and what elements and ingredients enter into their psychology. This is all I had to say, sir. I have taken a pretty long time and I would have liked you to allow me to quote certain more documents before the House but out of due deference to you and none else I desist from doing so. Sir, I resume my seat.

X

"YOU ARE NO LESS"

Dr. N. B. Khare has addressed the following open letter to Mahatma Gandhi :—

NAGPUR, 13th January 1940.

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

A kind friend of the Congress persuasion has drawn my attention to your article headed Charkha in 'Harijan' of recent date reproduced in the "Times of India" dated 11th instant. While doing so, he remarked that Mahatmaji's con-

science appears to prick him occasionally. While I never believed in his remark; it aroused my curiosity and I read the article with amused interest from beginning to end. I would not have encroached upon your valuable time specially, when I know that you are busy with national questions of supreme importance like 'Dominion Status for India' and the ostracising of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. But my unbounded love for you has impelled to do so, and that is my only apology for disturbing you.

Mahatmaji, your article touches a wide range of subjects, e. g., Dictator, Charkha, Non-violence, Truth, Love of your conception, Conversion, Driving out Englishmen from India, to mention only a few. You protest that you are no dictator, though unkind friends give you that nickname. A Dictator like Hitler does one or other of the three things with regard to persons who are either inconvenient, or hostile, or whom he fails to convert, viz., expulsion from the party, expulsion from the country, or expulsion from the world. You have done the first mentioned thing to your heart's content. You cannot do any of the two other things, because you have no power to do so. Nevertheless you are no less a dictator than say Hitler, or at best the difference is only of a degree. When you failed to gain Subhashbabu as a son for all time, you fell from grace and drove him out of the Congress. When your word was no longer law for Nariman and Khare, they also got a similar fate. If this is not cent per cent dictatorship, I want to know what it is. Mahatmaji—you nickname friends who think this way, as "unkind friends," but that does not alter facts.

You preach Non-violence or Ahimsa, in thought, word and deed, for solving all human problems. But may I remind you that soon after the termination of my episode, you wrote in your *Harijan* dated 6th August, 1938, or thereabout, words to the effect that if you followed Hitlerian methods, "Dr-

Khare should have lost his head", an eloquent example of Non-violence in thought. You yourself have admitted on 17th May, 1939, that your Rajkot fast was tainted with Hinsa. Mahatmaji, when this has happened in your case, what about lesser mortals! I do not blame you Mahatmaji, the impossibility of attaining the high ideal in practical life, has compelled you to follow Hitlerian methods and give a hasty and indecent burial to inconvenient persons; but truth demands that you should own it up. Any way, Mahatmaji, I am beholden to you for thus occasionally publicly remembering me after my burial.

You have said that you want to convert Englishmen into servants of India, and that you are not interested in driving them out of India. Englishmen in India should beware! If they refuse to be converted, they will meet with a fate similar to that of a Bose, Nariman or Khare; with this difference that since they do not belong to Mahatmaji's party, viz., the Congress, they will have to be driven out of the country; with the help of the Charkha. They will have to flee before the Charkha as ghosts flee before the knot in the sacred thread of a "twice-born"!

In conclusion, I am glad to learn that all your actions are prompted by love, and that the love of your conception has got different varieties. You have bestowed the flint variety of your love upon me and have showered the rose-petal variety on my erstwhile colleague Mr. D. P. Mishra. In this matter also Mahatmaji, your sense of discernment and discrimination is unimpeachable.

With loving regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. B. KHARE.

XI

'ALL-BENGAL DAY'

Nagpur, 6 Feb. 1942.

Though it is an undisputed fact that countless Indians have made great sacrifices for the Congress and thereby have brought glory to it, thus making it the most representative political organisation in the country, still the very people who have been continuously controlling its policies for the last twenty years or more are trying to retain their power by driving out of that body illustrious men like S. J. Subhas Bose, its twice elected President.

This was not enough to satisfy their unholy lust for power. They have now succeeded in throwing whole Bengal out of that organisation. Similar has been the fate of certain popular and sincere Congress men of long standing.

These people of the High Command can detect germs of compromise in the speech of H. E. the Viceroy, the spokesman of British Imperialism but they are unable to come to terms with S. J. Subhas Bose who has made immense sacrifices in the cause of the country.

It ill becomes in the mouth of the High Command to preach sermons on discipline to others when they themselves have systematically brought to nought the clearly worded resolution on War passed at the Haripura Session.

It is clear as daylight that the motive behind Working Committee's attitude towards Bengal is actuated by its desire to retain leadership in its hands and also to wreak vengeance for the defeat of Mahatma Gandhi's candidate at the time of the last Presidential election.

Bengal, which has ever been the vanguard of nationalist movement in this country, finds itself to-day outside the Congress organisation. Therefore, the insult inflicted on Bengal is in fact insult hurled at the Independence movement as a whole.

It may be Bengal's turn to face this humiliation to-day but the Punjab may have to face the music tomorrow, and perhaps the whole of Maharastra day after.

It seems to be the policy of the Working Committee to deal its blow separately, but we have got to wake up betimes and find out means to check this tendency before it is too late. I, therefore, appeal to all lovers of democracy to look at this question, irrespective of party or caste prejudices.

If no proper remedies are applied to protest emphatically against this highhanded policy of the Working Committee, then it will be the fate of all true servants of the soil who do not see eye-to-eye with the Gandhi 'junta' to find themselves completely ostracised.

As an immediate step in this direction, I suggest that as in Bengal, protest day meetings be organised on the 11th February or a suitable date near about all over the country in sympathy with Bengal and the Working Committee's vindictive attitude towards Bengal be severely condemned. Congress may be fighting for the democracy, but there is no real democracy in its inner working. The coming 11th be, therefore, celebrated as All-Bengal Day.

It has been the tradition with Maharashtra to support Bengal and it is up to us to do likewise in this day of her trial and I hope we all will rise to the occasion and let the Working Committee and their henchmen know what volume of strong feeling is there growing every day against them.

MR. GANDHI'S REPLY

24 Jan. 1940

Dear Dr. KHARE,

"I am very glad to see your own handwriting. Our politics may differ, but you are still the keeper of my body."

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

Dr. KHARE'S REPLY

1 Feb. 1940.

Dear MAHATMAJI,

I am in due receipt of your post card in reply to my open letter to you dated 24-1-40. I am deeply beholden to you for this gesture of small mercy. I am also glad to have this opportunity to fix my gaze upon your handwriting after I left Shigaon with that famous historic draft in your handwriting on that fateful night. I rejoice to see that you still regard me as one of the keepers of your body. I like this appreciation from you but I am not satisfied with it. I am a selfish man and without your permission I have reserved to myself the right and responsibility of administering a corrective to your soul whenever I deem it necessary.

Yours sincerely,
N. B. KHARE.

MAHAVIDARBHA PROVINCE

Interview of Dr. N. B. Khare for the special issue of the Jyotstna, May 1939:—The need for distribution of provinces on linguistic basis may not be as keenly felt by the Maharashtrians of the Bombay — Poona side as those of residing in Nagpur and Berar districts. These parts though more fertile and richer than the Mahakoshal districts of C. P. are at a disadvantage politically. There are only eight districts of Nagpur and Berar whereas the Mahakoshal having eleven districts gets the advantage due to their numerical superiority of holding the whip hand in the legislature and Government of the Province to such a degree that it has become unbearable for us to continue as we are any longer.

Of course I hold that this whole region of the Marathi Speaking populace of India be brought under one jurisdiction and I have been enunciating this principle of mine but we should not be blind to the practical difficulties that may accrue on account of the constitutional aspect of this problem. The territory inhabited by Marathi speaking population is hilly and narrow—it is not plain and vast like Bengal and U.P. How one feels the distance if one has to go to Gondia from Belgaum or from Chanda to Goa—so I suggest that even after the formation of the entire Marathi Provincial unit it may be split up into two divisions Northern and Southern or Eastern and Western Maharashtra. Bombay and Nagpur should be their Capital towns. There should be two separate High Courts and Universities at both these principle cities and seats of provincial Governments and venue of legislature should be located at the two places according to seasonal convenience.

There is nothing impracticable in the proposal I have made. There are two High Courts in the U. P. and two Capital towns in Bengal. So from the administrative point of view the need for two Capital cities and Universities for

such a vast tract will be readily admitted. There are a number of universities in the United Provinces even today. So if we had four University centres at Nagpur, Bombay, Poona and Kholhapur it would be quite desirable from educational point of view. There is one great advantage in my proposed scheme namely the fear rightly entertained by some people—because of transfer of political centre to Poona—Bombay side—of the handicaps the public will be put to in the Nagpur Berar districts, is thereby removed and they will wholeheartedly and enthusiastically support the move for unification of Maharashtra.

If this principle is agreed upon (viz two divisions of Maharashtra) then the next difficulty that is likely to crop up is with regard to fixing the boundary lines of the Northern Maharashtra. I think, we should be guided in this by taking into consideration the boundaries of ancient Vidarbha. It would be quite proper to include tract lying between Bhandara and Dhulia in the Northern Maharashtra and I think the Vidarbha literary society has given recognition to this principle so far as its activities are concerned. Tradition, dialect and customs and manners all these factors considered it would be quite in keeping to join East Khandesh to Nagpur and Berar districts. It is necessary for me to explain my position with regard to my suggestion of transferring the seat of Southern Maharashtra from Poona to Bombay. I quite recognise the historical and cultural importance of Poona and do appreciate its importance in the field of literature as well and I think I have got as much pride for this cultural centre as any Poonite may have. But from the international and industrial and naval point of view Bombay should be the capital city of the entire Maharashtra province. One has to take into consideration all the currents and crosscurrents in the world at large while looking at this problem. But if Delhi, Karachi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were to become federal cities at one time or another

then Poona automatically becomes the capital city of the province.

I am emphatically opposed to including Gujrath in Maharashtra. In civilisation, past history and mentality Gujrathis differ and I don't think there can ever be harmony between these two peoples so there is no point in keeping this thorn in the body politic of Maharashtra perpetuating its evil effects. Though small in size Gujrath is rich and fertile tract and it is necessary that it should have a province of its own.

After Nagpur—Berar districts are joined to Maharashtra then naturally Mahakoshal will be tagged on to U. P. and there will then be no question of increase in the number of provinces. On the contrary this redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis will put a stop to the controversies of parochial nature.

My friend Mr. Ramarao Deshmukh had moved last year in the legislature a resolution for acceptance of the principle of formation of provinces on linguistic basis and our Assembly had endorsed it. So having secured the support of the Congress and legislatures for this move there is no reason why this question should not be solved by persistent agitation.

As a first step to securing this end a movement should be immediately started for forming a separate sub-province of the 8 districts of Nagpur and Berar. Such parts as Betul, Balaghat, Chhindwara, and Khandwa districts as are Marathi speaking should be included in these eight districts of the Mahavidharbha Province. Since the Provincial Government have given their assent to the resolution sponsored by Barrister Ramarao Deshmukh in our legislature the combined efforts of Provincial Government and all other political parties of the

province in bringing pressure on the Government of India and the Secretary of State it is bound to bear fruit and fervently hope that workers of all parties will take up this matter in right earnest.

XII

Mystic Philosophy Of Inaction

At a time when the War has assumed a grim and serious aspect and when any serious reverses to the Allies may mean disastrous fate to the small and weak nations of the world and possibly a disaster to India, it is desirable for all right-minded Indians to consider seriously over the political stupor in which India has been placed by the mystic genius of Sewagram.

SAVING THE FACES

When the war broke out, this Congress dictator with his usual solicitude for Britain and everything British, advocated unconditional support to the Allies. His utterances however did not fit in with the wild utterances of his disciples who demanded a declaration of war aims of Britain and its attitude towards India's demand for full-fledged independence, and the Mahatma then followed his usual method of explaining away what he said. Unable to resist the growing demand of the leftwingers in the Congress, he appealed to their finer sentiments by giving a wailing description of what he would feel if Westminster Abbey were bombed. The Mahatma even went to the length of saying that freedom and democracy to India were of no consequence, if France and Britain did not win the war. But strangely enough though he wished success to the Allies, he could not advocate India's whole-hearted

participation in the war. To cloud the hypocrisy behind this technique, the Ministries were asked to resign. Many of such ministries had already become unpopular and the shrewd saint of Shegaon used this opportunity of saving the faces of the Congress Ministers, and leaving a free hand to the bureaucracy to deal freely with those who dared to advocate a policy of militant action for the freedom of the Motherland.

MAHATMA'S POLITICAL CANT

But even here the Mahatma was not satisfied; he issued a long spate of statements saying that Satyagraha was inevitable but adding that the country was not imbued with the necessary spirit of non-violence and truth. The Ramgarh Congress was held in this atmosphere of vascillation and hypocrisy and it only passed a longwinded resolution which advocated Satyagraha but asked the Congress workers to spin regularly and take to khadi, and thus advocated in actual practice no Satyagraha. The Ramgarh Congress was followed by a series of arrests of left-wingers all over the country and men like Prof. Ranga and others only received a certificate of breach of discipline and harm to Congress, for being more honest and straightforward in their views about war. The result has been a complete political stupor all over the country. The Congress Committee have in name transformed themselves into Satyagraha Committees and are manned in many cases by persons who at the first sound of a shell, will run in terror of their lives. It is no doubt true that Britain has by its foolish policy of keeping Indians unarmed, left this country defenceless and weak, but the Mahatma is further emasculating even the spirit of defence of the country, and India stands in danger of being butchered by outsiders or even by the worst elements in the civil population of the country if the situation worsens. Every Congress leader talks of spinning and the Charkha,

and proclaims the value of truth and non-violence from every house-top and platform; but none tries to reason out for himself if this policy of the Mahatma is a part of a plan to sabotage all political agitation and Satyagraha during the continuance of the war. He has said in a number of statements that he does not want to embarrass Britain, then why talk of Satyagraha. The British Government wants internal peace and no agitation in India at this time and the leader of the freedom movement in India also does not want Satyagraha just at this time. One can understand an honest policy of advocating whole-hearted co-operation with Britain in this hour of peril, but why should the Mahatma fight shy of his real feelings and fool the intelligentsia of this country by his political cant and quackery.

MYSTIC PHILOSOPHY OF INACTION

The Congress leaders know and everybody knows that Satyagraha is as dead as cold mutton in India and yet when men and women and children of neutral countries in the West are being bombed and butchered in cold blood and when India also stands in the same potential danger, the Congress High Command headed by the Mahatma talks of Spinning and Charkha, and the mirage of Satyagraha. The ministries in the Congress-governed provinces have gone handing over the reins of government to irresponsible advisers and the disciples of the Mahatma spend their time in doing lip service to truth and non-violence. If those who do not see eye to eye with this mystic philosophy of inaction, speak otherwise or try to end this constitutional stalemate, the Gandhaites consider this action as anti-national and inopportune. But the favoured few of the Mahatma, men like Asaf Ali, Lala Dunichand and Satyamurti can boast of their loyalty to Congress ideals and their nationalism even if they advocate unconditional support to Britain for war or formation of coalition ministries. How long young India and educated India in particular, is going to tolerate this

intellectual slavery, Heaven alone knows, but even so the world situation demands that Indians must think and act seriously for the defence of their own homes and motherland.

ENOUGH OF TALL TALK

No one can live only on tall talks of nationalism and freedom and in this war humanity itself is threatened with all forces of slavery and destruction; and it is the duty of all Indians, of all political parties to cast aside their differences, end the political stalemate and work in a manner which will ensure victory to the Allies. India has enough manpower if only Britain gives up its foolish policy of mistrust in the Indians and even now arms them and mobilises an army at least for defence of India's own borders.

Britain should also immediately after the war, give India complete freedom of the Westminster Statute type and not show its imperialistic claws and prejudices.

And if it does so, it will do so at its peril gravely endangering her own position and prestige in the new situation in which she will find herself. Robust and honest nationalism and humanism demand this policy. This is the only way to extricate ourselves from the political quagmire, into which we have been led by political quackery and it will re-animate our jaded intellect for a renewed fight at the proper time, if and when it becomes necessary.

XIV

INDIA AND THE WAR

Duty of the People

Nagpur, June 27th 1940.

We are on the threshold of a great international upheaval when the very existence of the major nations is being challenged by the scientific and the ruthless forces of violence, whose intensity is perhaps faintly realised by Indians because of the enforced security imposed by the Rulers and the general feeling sedulously propagated in the country that all our ills can be remedied and even our political and economic freedom can be won by that gospel of truth and non-violence, and to achieve which we are merely required to spin, spin and spin. The Government of the country now seem to have got up from its slumber and frantic efforts are being made to form War Committees and establish Civic Guards and while this slow, proverbially slow, and inefficient bureaucracy moves on, we hear the capitulation of France, a nation which was considered the second great democracy of the West. Blackouts are being practiced in Bombay, Simla, Calcutta and other places and yet the Congress Working Committee composed presumably of the best brains of India is merely shading tears at the fall of mighty Empires and does not give any lead to the country at this momentous hour of its destiny. The Ramgarh Congress is finally succeeded in expelling Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose out of the Congress whose only sin was to demand a cabinet comprising all shades of political views in the country, appointed Mahatma Gandhi almost as the sole Dictator in view of the critical situation of India vis-a-vis the World War. The Mahatma unable to resist the growing demand of the Leftist, to start a struggle for independence, or the demand of his nearest and dearest constitutionists to form Ministries and

offer co-operation advocated for a time, an attitude of benevolent neutrality. To camouflage his plan Satyagrah committees were formed and Indians were told to be ready for the struggle.

The world moves on in its own ways and we see before our very eyes democracies and nations crumbling the whole edifice of Imperialism is being demolished and is on its last legs. At this hour the Working Committee which recently met at Wardha was unable to give any lead to the Country, as it was sharply divided within itself. The wisdom has at last dawned on the members of the Working Committee who see in the policy of the Mahatma a surest way of disaster and destruction of many millions of peaceful citizens if only they repeat the slogan of non-violence. The members of the Working Committee not having the requisite courage of making Subhas of the Mahatma have politely passed a long-wind but meaningless resolution by absolving Mahatma Gandhi of all responsibilities of the future Congress policy. If the members of the Working Committee are honest to themselves, they should resign, or call a special session of the Congress and give what they feel to be a correct lead to the country. But if they feel that the basic policy of Mahatma Gandhi viz., to produce a change of heart in the opponent by non-violent Satyagraha is the correct policy for achieving independence as they state in their resolution the same result could be achieved by making a noble gesture at this critical hour to Britain. We all Congress, Hindus, Muslim, Harijans etc., without giving up our respective ideologies can keep aside our quarrels for the time being and come together in our own interest and offer wholehearted co-operation in carrying on the Administration and help the Government to maintain order at this hour in India. By unconditional help to Britain in this grave hour Indians will not only rise in moral grade in the eyes of the Britishers but also of the Mahatma. This will also bring the various communities whether at the centre or in the provinces together and this will greatly

help each other to understand difficulties and pave the way for a large and lasting communal unity. This may also shame Britain into submission to our just political demands.

At this time therefore when each political party is trying to assume an attitude of indifference and when the Congress seems to be confused the duty of the General Public is clear. I, therefore, appeal to the general public of this country to force a solution of the political impasse by forming a national government representative of all parties and devote the whole energies of the country to the successful termination of war and defence of this country. It is of the utmost importance at this grave hour when imperialism seems to be fading out of existence, that the important strategic and administrative positions should be in the hands of capable Indians, no matter what party they belong. This way lies the road to India's brighter destiny for otherwise the future appears gloomy and dry.



XV

OPEN LETTER TO Mr. M. K. GANDHI

18th July, 1940.

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I have been closely following your articles in the "Harijan" written by you after your sad separation from the Congress Working Committee. You have rightly complained that the Delhi resolution of the Working Committee is a breach of the Ramgarh Resolution in spirit, if not in words. I am of opinion that it is a breach in spirit as well as a breach

in words too, and the responsibility for this happening is entirely yours; because you have yourself shelved that resolution in your capacity as the so-called generalissimo. You withdrew the Congressmen in office as a mere bluff. In your exalted sense of self-importance you thought that by this petty gesture, the British Government which is involved in a life and death struggle will come down on its knees, but apparently they were made of a sterner stuff and your bluff did not work. You then ordered that the Congress Committees should be converted into Satyagraha Committees. This bluff also failed and the Viceroy did not make a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Sevagram with the Charter of Indian Independence in this pocket, but you had to ascend the mountains of Simla in spite of your high blood pressure, with the beggars' bowl for a compromise.

These tactics of yours intensified the natural cupidity of your followers for power, pelf and position, and they made public pronouncements in their speeches in favour of going back to office. This was impossible without active support to Government in their war efforts, which again was banned by the Ramgarh Resolution. You too were against their resumption of office, because during their tenure of office, you were overwhelmed with complaints against the administration from all corners of the country. You who were once a stepping stone to the high pedestal of office, proved now to be a stumbling block in their way. They therefore resolved to abjure their faith in non-violence, of the third degree, which they pretended to profess for over twenty years, plumped for participation in the war and unceremoniously bundled you out of the sole agency of the Indian National Congress and thus removed the obstacle in their way. Association and relationship of a generation were broken and you were left the sole follower of your principle of non-violence under any circumstances, with the exception of your frontier edition.

You raised the factitious cry that Pattabhi's defeat was your defeat and manoeuvred with the help of your colleagues to install yourself as a super-President of the Congress at Ramgarh. You turned out Subhash Chandra Bose—who wanted a composite Working Committee on the issue of a uniform and homogeneous Working Committee of one mind and one voice. Where is that uniform Working Committee now? Those very colleagues with whose help you installed yourself at Ramgarh have deserted you, and your precious principle dearer to you than life, Mahatmaji, what a fall! Well might have you said "Thou too Brutus" I have said in the concluding pages of 'My Defence' that the Day of Judgement was for all and the Mahatmas would not be excluded. I should have written this letter in a sense of supreme satisfaction for my prophecy being fulfilled sooner than I expected but instead, I feel a sort of morbid sympathy for you which I have expressed in a telegram which you doubtless must have received.

You are a past master in the subtle art of concealing your thoughts: yet some of your writings are so bitter that all the chagrin mortification and disappointment you feel, peep through them in spite of your best efforts to conceal them. You reiterate unequivocally your extreme faith in non-violence under any circumstances and the want of this faith in your colleagues has distressed you. You should be congratulated for this consistency, although one may ask you "Why was not that faith so unequivocal when your ministries indulged in firing and lathi charges", but that may be excused as a passing error of judgment.

Your appeal to every Briton is surprising. I do not hold any brief for Britons, but you want them to yield to your non-violence here in India and to Hitler's violence in Europe. Is it not a bit cruel and quixotic? You have offered your services to them in the cause of non-violence.

If they send you to Berlin where your services are most needed, and violent and non-violent Hitlers meet together, the result will astound the world. Mahatmaji, I congratulate you for these articles which, although queer, are frank, bold, sincere and consistent. But I cannot congratulate you on your latest article headed "Cry in the Wilderness" because it is written in a different strain. This may have been due to Rajaji's visit to Shegaon on his way back from Delhi to Madras. By the way, you tried your best to send me into wilderness and now it has come upon you to cry in the wilderness. Strage are the ways of revenge of Hoary Time!

In this article you relate your conversation with Mr. Bapuji Aney when he paid a flying visit to you to express his sympathies. You are laying a flattering unction to your soul with your comparison with Sage Vyasa. But don't you see, Mahatmaji that when Mr. Bapuji Aney says "They should, I think leave you in peace and let you go your way," he means you should cease to dabble in politics. When one eats too much butter, castor-oil becomes necessary and both are inevitable in the economy of the human body. This is my only apology for encroaching upon you in your separation with this long letter.

It appears from your cry in the wilderness that your separation from the Congress is not a divorce but only a decree nisi, as you say "They will again be with me." You also further say that it would have been morally wrong to strive with Rajaji in what he firmly regarded as his clear duty. May I ask you if it was not morally wrong to strive with me on that fateful night of 25th July 1938? Instead of dissuading Rajaji you encouraged him to follow his course. You are a firm believer in non-violence under any circumstances. You also hold violence is wrong and sinful. Rajaji's course clearly countenances violence for defence of the country. How can you then encourage him to follow his

course. Is it not an abetment of a wrong and sinful act? We poor mortals cannot solve this riddle. Will you solve it? What punishment are you going to mete out for this clear contravention of the Ramgarh Resolution? But I forget. When all are guilty who is to punish whom? Rajaji told you that your vision was blurred and you paid back the compliment to him though in a jocular mood. He must have told you in your own words "Don't make a fetish of a Congress resolution" and so the biter was bit. Bravo for this response and co-operation.

You further say in your article "I do not believe that the unarmed millions of India cannot exercise ahimsa with success." You have said before that non-violent Satyagraha could not be started because the masses are not yet imbued with the spirit of non-violence. May I ask you which is true? Towards the end of your article you hope that every Gujarati Congressite—man and woman—will declare their adherence to ahimsa and reassure the Sardar that they will never resort to violence. Mahatmaji during my episode you charged me with provincialism and regionalism, although I do not possess any. May I ask you now if it is not provincialism and regionalism in excelsis?

To conclude, the foregoing will show that Gandhism is dead, and self-righteousness, hypocrisy, punning and quibbling have become orphans. Let the Congress be purged of these and live and thrive as a purely political organisation to achieve national independence of India.

Mahatmaji, Amen and Adieu,

Nagpur)
July, 16th 40)

Yours truly,
N. B. KHARE.



XVI

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[At the public rally held at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Fort, Bombay on 21st December 1940 in connection with the Inaugural Conference of the Radical Democratic Party.]

I thank you very much for doing me this high honour by asking me to inaugurate this rally of Radical Democrats from all over the country. We were all once in the Congress and many of us occupied important positions in that premier political organisation of the country. Some of us have been expelled under the disciplinary axe for holding radical views and being too inconvenient and uncomfortable for the Gandhian High Command and the Gandhian ideology and some have voluntarily seceded holding political views diametrically opposite to Gandhism as it was no longer possible for them to remain and function in the organisation as it has ceased to be a purely political organisation and dwindled into a pseudo-religious sect entirely devoted to the propagation of the Gandhian cult and getting more and more astrayed from Indian Nationalism and its political ideals.

Mere seceding from the Indian National Congress and sitting quiet or idle could not have been enough or even justifiable. It is our duty as political beings to place before our countrymen the way and the weapon for our action. It is for that purpose that we are meeting in this rally and thus fulfilling a historical necessity. It would have been better had you chosen a more competent person to inaugurate this rally; but perhaps you have chosen me because I had the good fortune to be instrumental in throwing a strong beam

of searchlight upon the 'inner voices' and the 'new lights' of the Congress High Command.

Gentlemen, we are meeting under very critical times; on the one hand a terrible and unprecedented world war is raging in many continents of the world, fraught with great possibilities which may result in a drastic change in the social, political and economic values, on the other hand this subcontinent of ours is involved in what is called the representative individual civil disobedience movement, although there is a christmas truce for the time being as declared by the non-violent dictator, the purpose of which may or may not be mysterious. The purpose of this movement itself is also mysterious, because it is not to embarrass Britain and before we clarify our attitude to it, it is necessary to make a brief summary of the political happenings of the past year or so, before this movement was launched.

Immediately after the war was declared, both Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, declared, themselves to be in favour of rendering unconditional help to Britain; then came a demand for the declaration of the war aims, and a plaintive appeal to Britain to liquidate her Imperial rule in India. Demand for a constituent assembly under the auspices of the Imperial Government was pressed for a time and given up; but nothing seems to have been of any use. Then ministries were given up as a bluff, but that also failed. Then came another spell of interviews and requests for a National Government and expression of readiness to give all help in the war, involving violence. For this purpose, even his intimate disciples hunted the Mahatma like Brutus and threw him overboard to suit his non-violence; but these too failed as the British Government was ice-cold. Then the wagon was again hitched back to non-violence and the Mahatma was restored to his former position. All these shuffling and shifting and drifting and double dealing coupled.

with the errors of commission and omission of the Congress ministries which in office resulted in a great loss of prestige of the Gandhian cult and the High Command, as is evident from their own pronouncements. Therefore, the Mahatma started high sham fight to prevent self-extinction, to rehabilitate the lost prestige and to secure popular support in a future general election, as it is sure to come as the war is surely not going to last for ever. It is, therefore, natural that the present persons on the top tried and trusted from the point of view of politics are given the first chance to go to jail so that they should get a halo of cheap martyrdom round them and be again the representatives of power to be used for group purposes. The list of satyagrahis is so manoeuvred and selected by the provincial heads that no person though deserving yet undesirable from their point of view of group politics can get in. Satyagrahis are requested to sign a pledge, the conditions in which can never be fulfilled. All this must be known to the supreme or subordinate dictators. Yet they are all allowed because they are convenient yes-men while truthful men like Sardar Sampuran Singh of the Punjab are expelled under the name of discipline for telling the truth. Discipline means obedience to party mandates; one can understand it and appreciate it; but the High Command wants mental slavery under the mesmeric spell of the Mahatma or from motives of self interest. Even the Government appears to be under the spell of the Mahatma, if you can compare the treatment meted out to Pandit Nehru and the Mahatma. Pandit Nehru gets four years for three anti-war speeches while the Mahatma who has launched the anti-war movement and who is daringly encouraging and instigating the illegal actions of his followers is apparently protected against the law. If this is the position of the Government, it is no wonder that ordinary people come under the spell of the Mahatma. This naturally results in mass hypocrisy planned, designed and encouraged by the highest of the high; and this hypocrisy masquerades under the garb of truth. No nation can pro-

gress or prosper under these conditions. This movement which under these conditions is designed to restore the lost prestige of the Congress High Command, is harmful to the best interests of the country; and nobody should have any part in it from patriotic motives; because the country is surely greater than the High Command. There was a time when Congressmen were considered to have the monopoly of patriotism and Congress membership was a badge of patriotism; but that time is gone for good. Similarly mere jail-going is not patriotism: if that were so, we also could have gone to jail in this movement and become popular heroes: there could have been no difficulty in doing that. But we are here to ask our countrymen to keep away from it; because we sincerely believe, it is harmful under the present conditions. We know that we shall be misunderstood and malicious and mischievous propaganda will be made against us; and we may also lose our popularity. But nothing can deter us from following the course which we believe to be right. I feel that instead of going to jail under pretence of non-violence, every effort should be made to take advantage of the situation to militarise and industrialise the country.

The attitude of the Government to Congress and one or two other political parties has resulted in a complete deadlock hampering the progress of country. The statements of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and their repeated performances in different words on different occasions cannot cut much ice. It cannot resolve this unfortunate tangle, which has become like the eternal triangle of the man, the woman and the other woman. The firm hope expressed by the the Viceroy about rapprochement between the Congress, the Muslim League and the Government is bound to prove a forlorn hope. If it is granted that the Congress wants to establish a Hindu Raj with the help of the British bayonets, then it can be argued with equal cogency that the Muslim

League wants to establish a Muslim Empire with the help of British bayonets but the British are not going to lend their bayonets for either objective. Compromise, therefore, between the three is impossible. The situation thus contains all the elements of a nice deadlock.

It is not statesman-ship to sit tight on this dead-lock and merely to appeal to the principal political parties to come together. Such an attitude will not be helpful for creating-enthusiasm among the masses for the vigorous prosecution of the War. For this purpose, a new outlook and a fresh approach is necessary. If the Mahatma is a Nero fiddling with his Satyagraha, when the world is on fire, British statesmanship is also like King Canute sitting on his chair and appealing to the surging tides of threatenning disunity, disorder and chaos. If they could launch a proposal of Anglo-French Union to re-unite the two empires under one constitution, at the distressing time of the debacle of France, surely it is much easier to make a move to end the dead-lock in India. The British Government should seek co-operation on honourable basis of those elements who are ready to help in the prosecution of the War.

We are not out for bargaining; we believe that we should render help in the war purely from motives of the country's interest and patriotism. We believe with Pandit Nehru that "India should play her part and throw all her resources into the struggle for the New Order". We also hope along with him that "the country will look at this problem not from a narrow national point of view but from the widest international view point and seek to foster the good of the world, because our own good is involved in it." If by placing this view point before the country, we are committing a sin we are sinning in good company, because the Mahatma after his first interview with Viceroy after the outbreak of the war, has said: "My sympathies are wholly

with the allies...If the allies are defeated, India will be thrown into confusion and anarchy from which it may not recover for a long time in the course of which India may become dis-integrated and fall a prey to foreign invasion. If efforts to prevent such a likely catastrophe are not patriotic, I do not know, what patriotism is.

In doing so, we have not and we cannot forget our high ideals, which we have cherished for a long time and for which we have suffered in the past and are prepared to suffer in the future.



XVII

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION

Nagpur, January 16th 1941.

It is a matter of pride that our province has played a prominent part in the Indian struggle for freedom during the last quarter of a century. Not only this, but it has been its good fortune to give a new orientation to the politics of the country when necessity arose for it. It is the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress held in 1920 which for the first time launched the non-co-operation programme and stirred the masses to political consciousness. Similarly the Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress was strongest in this province and made it impossible for the constitution to function. The responsive Co-operation Party which arose within the Congress was also strong in this Province along with Maharashtra. This Party was not numerically strong but the propoganda carried on by this party on rational lines was in a great measure responsible for the change of

policy of the Congress at Patna in 1934 when the Congress gave up finally the futile boycott of legislatures and decided to capture legislatures and ultimately formed ministries and worked the constitution. In pursuance of this policy the first Congress Ministry was formed in this province and when the internal democracy was attacked by Congress authoritarianism, this province had the honour of bringing it to the notice of the whole country in an unmistakable manner.

In conformity with the above mentioned tradition the province again came forward and held a small conference of representatives from various provinces at the University Convocation Hall, Nagpur and gave a bold lead to the country by declaring that the present sickening movement of sickly satyagraha was harmful to the country's best interests and suggesting the formation of a National Democratic Union. This was in October 1940.

Again in Bombay another meeting of Radical Congressmen and some other prominent persons was held in the middle of December 1940 under the distinguished presidentship of Com. M. N. Roy where also among other things the formation of a National Democratic Union was suggested. After these two preliminary meetings to gauge public opinion a third meeting of important political persons from all over India was held in Calcutta towards the end of December 1940 under the distinguished presidentship of Dr. Sachidanand Sinha of Patna. It was finally decided at this meeting that a National Democratic Union be formed composed of groups and parties who may like to join as well as independent public men, who see the great possibilities of the present situation and have the courage to utilise them for promoting the welfare and advance of the country. The constituents of the proposed Union will, therefore, retain fullest independence as regards all controversial issues to be settled in due time. They are expected to act jointly only for the immediate

common objects which may be enumerated as follows :—

(1) Defeat of Fascism by rapid development of all the resources of India for that purpose ;

(2) Sharing the responsibility for the defence of India and with that purpose to press upon the Government the necessity of winning popular confidence.

(3) Eventual re-election of legislatures ;

(4) Establishment of Emergency Ministries in those provinces which are without ministries, pending the eventual general election ;

(5) Inclusion of independent popular representatives in the Viceroy's Executive Council ;

(6) Democratization of War Efforts in order to make India's constitution purposeful and more effective.

As I was present at the Calcutta Conference and was elected to the All India Standing Committee the responsibility for the formation of the National Democratic Union in this province has naturally devolved upon me. I propose to soon set up a Provincial Organising Committee and I fervently appeal to all political workers and organisations in the province who think on similar lines, to whatever caste, creed or community they may belong to rally round the proposed democratic union and help me in the formidable task.

The organisation of a National Democratic Union is a historic necessity in the present political situation in the country. There is no single political party in the country which may be said to represent the Indian people as a whole in their struggle for a national freedom. The National Congress aspired to that position and would have firmly established itself in that position. But its premier position and its huge following upset the mental equilibrium of its bosses and it went on committing mistakes after mistakes and is

fast losing its popularity and has definitely courted the hostility of other groups both religious and political. The situation, today, therefore is that all non-Congress elements collectively represent and command a much larger mass following than the Congress.

The relation of political forces in the country is such that it is impossible for any single political organisation to mobilise the Indian people for any political action without the co-operation of the rest. A union of these political forces on the basis of an agreed platform is therefore the need of the hour. If individuals belonging to different schools of thought and owing allegiance to different groups or parties come together for a common purpose even temporarily, it may lead to a cultivation of better spirit, mutual understanding and ultimate solution of India's problems. It is the duty of us all who want complete National Freedom and democracy for ourselves to come together and support the war to save all democracies from dictators.

Popular support is indispensable for India making a decisive contribution to the victory against Fascism. To secure that support genuinely, anti-Fascist non-official elements should be associated with the Government of the country without any delay both at the centre and in the provinces even by appointment of non-official advisers failing formation of emergency ministries. Complacency or indecision on the part of Government makes it difficult for the advocates of India's participation in the War to mobilise public opinion so as to influence the situation effectively. I hope that both the people and the Government will realise their respective responsibility and play their part properly and effectively for the desired victory.—(Statement).



XIII

"ELECT JAMNADAS MEHTA"

March 7, 1941

I congratulate Mr. Jamnadas Mehta for the rare and splendid courage he has shown in contesting the Central Assembly bye-election in Maharashtra under the present circumstances, when the Gandhist Congress is carrying on a campaign of civil disobedience.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, as far as individual merits go, is far superior to his Congress rivals and I am sure all right-thinking, progressive and national elements in the province will wholeheartedly support him. Ordinarily speaking this bye-elections should have been a walk-over for Mr. Mehtha.

But unfortunately it is not so, on account of the deluding propaganda carried on by the Maharashtra P. C. C. in whose hands the imprisonment of Congress leaders is a triumph card, and who are bound to hypnotize the unwary and the superstitious masses by the magic name of the Mahatma.

The Maharastra Provincial Congress is carrying on propaganda that the Gandhist Congress is fighting for complete independence and that to vote for Mr. Mehta is to vote for slavery. It is therefore necessary that the people are not victimized by this pretentious propaganda.

All electors should know and realize that the present struggle is not for independence at all-even according to the Congress Dictator himself the struggle is only for the freedom of speech.

Even apart from this statement of fact if we carefully observe all the conditions laid down for the struggle, it will be evident to the meanest intellect that the campaign has been so designed that it should necessarily fail before it could ever assume proportions necessary for achieving independence and the dictator of that struggle is straining every nerve to keep out of jail so that it may not go out of his hands.

It is, therefore, that slavish obedience to the most farcical condition is demanded from the satyagrahis. If one sees through all this one should readily concede that not independence but the reverse of it is the object of the struggle.

In spite of all the pretensions of the Congress resolutions in favour of complete independence the Congress dictator who is at present the Congress the whole Congress and nothing but the Congress, is not for undiluted independence as would be evident from past history.

I would request the people to recall that Mahatma Gandhi had two interviews with Mr. H. W. Emersen the then Secretary to the Government of India in 1931 before he proceeded to England to attend the second R. T. C. as the sole representative of the Congress.

The first took place before the Karachi Congress on 19-3-1931 and the second on 7-4-1931 after the Karachi session. At these interviews the Mahatma gave the assurance that "he would use his influence with the Congress to avoid any offence to Muslims, recognized the difficulties that would be created for the government by the undiluted resolution in favour of complete independence at the Karachi Congress and by the declaration that the Congress would go on fighting until they achieved this. It appears that the Mahatma had made up his mind that the course of this kind was not taken, and it was agreed "that the actual resolutions on

independence would be diluted by speeches and statements." I challenge the Mahatma to deny this. Comments on this are superfluous.

This shows, what the 'congress brand' independence is. Therefore all electors should realize that a vote for Mr. Jamnadas Mehta is a vote in favour of freedom and democracy and a vote for the Congress is a vote for hypocrisy, autocracy and mental slavery-which is the worst form of slavery.—(Statement)

XIV

MR. AMERY CANNOT HAVE IT BOTH WAYS!

May 1941.

The latest speech of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on the India debate as well as Mr. Gandhi's reply to it, are both remarkable in a way. There is nothing new in the speech of the Secretary of State with regard to India. It contains the usual proud protestations, pious platitudes and political promises. But the remarkable thing is the sharp rebuke offered to a man of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's importance and eminence.

Mr. Gandhi's reply also is different from his recent pronouncements. It is as cold and as hard as steel. But there is nothing surprising in this, if one realises that the Sapru Conference was an attempt to pull the Congress chestnuts out of the fire for the Congress. This will be evident from reported interviews in the Trichinopoly Jail before the Sapru Conference took place and also from the statement issued by Mr. Gandhi on the eve of the Conference

after his visit to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at Allahabad, completely repudiating his previous statement which had ruled out any possibility of Congressmen returning to office during the war.

This Mr. Gandhi had to do to accommodate his less scrupulous lieutenants in case the Bombay Conference succeeded in its mission. With this background one can easily understand the stiffness of Mr. Gandhi's reply. Because after his indirect blessings to the Sapru Conference, Mr. Gandhi must have felt the rebuff from the Secretary of State as a personal insult.

That August Offer

In his speech, Mr. Amery again harps on the August Offer, and says that although Britain was eager to part with power there was none in India to take it, on account of the intransigence of the Congress and the Muslim League or really speaking Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. He lays the usual stress on the rights of minorities which is the game of all imperialists all the world over anxious to retain their hold on a subject nation and proudly mentions the gift of unity and internal peace by Britain to India.

Even Mr. Amery cannot have it both ways. He can't be proud of unity established by Britain in India and at the same time bewail the lack of unity in India, and set it up as a hindrance in the way of transfer of political power. And where is the internal peace? Did he not know the occurrence of terrible communal riots from Bengal to Bombay the moment he was making his speech? Does he also not know that this form of communal strife is becoming a usual feature of Indian life in spite of the British rule? He has charged the Congress with party totalitarianism.

This is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Had it not been the case, they would not have been so liberal with the use of Section 93 in the seven out of eleven provinces in India.

Rights And Privileges

Under the Constitution both majority and minority have got certain rights and privileges. It is a right of the majority in the legislature to form a government, and administer the province. But if the majority refuses to shoulder the responsibility and voluntarily goes into wilderness, then the political minority should be allowed to function. as was done in April 1937.

Therefore, so long as there was a chance of the majority party, that is the Congress returning to office, use of Section 93 might have been justifiable. But now when this possibility is absolutely ruled out the continued use of Section 93 without offering any chance to political minority is trampling its rights under feet and usurpation of power though legalised by Parliament.

Besides it is nowhere laid down in the Act except in the Selfish Procedure Code that the advisers to Governors shall and must be officials. It is evident, therefore, that the British Government do not want to part with any power in any shape or form and the so-called offer is a delusion and a snare.

Electorate's Attitude

The Secretary of State has made a point in his speech that the electors in India have not protested against this situation. Does he not know that Defence of India Act is in operation, and it is as difficult as rope-dancing to make a

political speech in these days avoiding its all pervading tentacles? The Secretary of State has enlarged upon the impossibility of transfer of power even under the August Offer on account of the lack of unity in India; but this is far removed from reality as will be evident from the following quotation from the August Offer itself :

"It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remained unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council"

It is clear therefore, that the August Offer does not presume Indian unity, but assumes and is based upon the existence and recognition of disunity or lack of unity.

This pronouncement of the Viceroy has been further explained and emphasised by Mr. Amery on August 14th, 1940, while initiating the debate on India in the House of Commons in the following terms. Said Mr. Amery :

"I still hope that they will all be willing to take their part in spite of the discouraging attitude shown in Congress quarters. If that should unfortunately not prove to be the case, Lord Linlithgow will of course, still go a head prepared to work with those who will work with him and each other." Comment on this is superfluous. This is end of April 1941. Yet the Viceroy is still, and has not gone ahead.

New Party

Towards the end of December 1940, a new central party under the name of National Democratic Union has been formed in Calcutta by some prominent politicians from all

over India. This party has not made any stipulations but has offered full co-operation with the Viceroy's August Offer; because it realises that if Britain is defeated, India will be thrown into confusion and anarchy, and may become disintegrated and will fall a prey to foreign invasion, so that even fighting for its freedom may become an impossibility.

This party has established its branches in many provinces in India and although the Government has yet done nothing positive to enlist willing and whole-hearted support of India in the prosecution of war, this party has advocated full support in war efforts. This attitude of all parties and communities and the essential unity in India's outlook towards the war has been praised by the Secretary of State but he is not prepared to so arrange the administration of the country as would make this support more effective and more fruitful. Why? Because he does not want to part with the power even under his own offer and that is why he does not take any notice of any such parties. And yet they are surprised, if some people doubt the bonafides of British political offers.

Sapru Conference

The Sapru Conference could not become wise by seeing the fate of those who offered full co-operation with the August Offer; and perhaps from an exalted sense of self-importance attempted to pull the Congress chestnuts out of the fire; no wonder then that they got their fingers burnt.

They have been asked by the Secretary of State to form a Centre Party. One need not be surprised if, realising the futility of this procedure they eventually join the Congress and take Mr. Jinnah also with them as some of them—including Mr. Jinnah—are disgruntled ex-Congressmen. Some people say that the Government are prestige-ridden. But at

least in this case, it is not so. The Viceroy's offer and the policy adumbrated in it has emanated from Government and their prestige should demand that that policy should be carried out.

But in this particular instance, because it admirably suits their purpose of not parting with power, they will not make it a question of prestige and allow the Offer to remain open till Doom's Day, till the Indian people achieve that kind of unity required by the Secretary of State which, in all conscience, is impossible to be attained by any people under any clime.

It is sad to think that India's political progress is impeded not only by non-violent obscurantism and Pakistani obstinacy, but by selfish obduracy also.—(Statement)

XX

"HEADS I WIN, TAILS YOU LOSE"

26th July 1942.

(Speaking at the meeting of the Provincial War Committee held on Saturday last at the Assembly Hall, Dr. Khare said) :

"We are selected men and we are meeting—I may say that we are made to meet in this House—which is meant for elected men ! After all, there are virtues in both election and selection. Election can be nullified or made functus officio by a stroke of the pen, rightly or wrongly, by the powers that be, but selection can never be ! So there is some inherent virtue in 'selection', and I flatter myself that I belong to the category of selection ! !

Since we met last, the world has changed. Indeed what we find is that a life and death struggle is going on between Germany and Russia, the erstwhile Allies. Whenever any

one says that so and so are Allies, it prompts me to say that they are all lies! With regard to the Italian Empire in Africa—I refer to Abyssina, Eritrea and other small countries of the dark continent—if I may say so—they have practically put an end to the Italian conquest of Africa. We are all gratified to read in newspapers that Indian soldiers—not soldiers but sepoys, because the sepoy is a dark person and the soldier is a white one—(this difference still exists although it should not) all our Indian sepoys have glorious accounts to their credit. Glorious accounts have been given of the actions of these Indian sepoys, and no less a person than His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has spoken very highly of their action on the African front and the Middle East.

Around Support Claimed

On the one hand we hear these encouraging accounts, while on the other we are told that the Government in England thinks that as the two major political parties in India are not co-operating with each other, Indians are not co-operating wholeheartedly with the war efforts in this country and there are difficulties in the way of transfer of power to Indians. The Government in England says "Look at this, so many people, the Sikhs, the Marathas, the Muslims, almost all the Indian communities, are helping us in every possible way in fighting our battles; they are all representative Indians." But, when the question of political concessions comes up, the same Government, I mean the Government in England, says "We are not getting support from these major parties." When the question of fighting comes, they say that they are getting support from the Indian people as a whole and these people are representative Indians.

No Parting with Power

When it is a question of Indian representation in the fighting forces and the war efforts, all these persons are

cited as samples of the Indian masses who give support to Government. But when it comes to the parting with power in any shape or form, then the same people say "What can we do?, these major political parties are not coming forward to help us." I think, if one may say so, such an attitude is not very honest; it is just like saying: "Heads I win, tails you lose." If the people who are fighting for the British Empire are the representatives of India, the masses of India, and if they are wholeheartedly supporting the War, then certainly it is your duty to do something for India. Do not make a fetish of the non-co-operation of the two major political parties; that is not proper.

When the major political parties ask the Government to declare its war aims or peace aims, the Government says: "No we cannot do it, our aim is to fight the war and to win it." One can understand that, but what about the peace aims? No reply is given and the excuse of India's difficulties is trotted out, but this cannot pass muster. I will give you an instance. When the debacle of France took place, when she was on the point of yielding to Germany, a proposal was made to France over-night that they might have Anglo-French Union and that both the Empires could have a common citizenship. If such a proposal could be made and settled in a minute, can we not legitimately ask, was there no difficulty in that proposal? Then why make that as an excuse with regard to India?

In Syria

Coming to still more recent times, the British Government has entered into a peace treaty with Syria. In collaboration with the free French people, the British entered Syria. As you all know, the country Syria is a complex country much worse than India. The elements which form its national life are more variegated, more divergent, than those of India. I do not want to trouble you with all these

facts and figures. but you can believe me that position in Syria is worse than that in India.

Well, if in a few minutes and when the war is going on, a county like Syria can be promised independence without consulting any of its various elements, I cannot understand that difficulties come in the way of the British Government promising independence to India? Why should they always make much of diverse elements in India? Yet that is done. Are we not entitled to ask, what about India? India does not want much. India is not very much after material pursuits. That is a weakness of ours; but then that is a fact! It must me admitted India is afer her self-respect. She is after her glorious soul—not the body. She wants that her soul should be freed from bondage. Where is the harm? What is wrong in it? Why do you not say “Well, dear Indians, we will recognise you from this moment as an Independent Dominion and deal with you as such, whatever your constitution may be.” I see no difficulty there. If you do that, you will soon find out what a tremendous response you will get. All these little figures just enumerated will be nothing to what you will then get.

Still-born Child

A year almost has now passed and the August offer has remained a still-born child. Perhaps its first *Shraddha* was performed at Simla. This is the situation in India. Naturally every Indian feels for it. He feels his helplessness; and that is the tragedy of it. Even if the August offer materialised, what would be the situation? Well, I do not know what it contains; I cannot say before-hand what it will be like. But suppose as a result of that offer, two or three persons are made members of the Viceroy's Executive Council with some portfolios, I do not suppose that is going to enthuse the Indian masses. Because, after all it is not those persons who come into contact with the masses from

day to day. It is the Provincial Governments which come into contact with the masses, and unless something is done, as His Excellency put it in his speech, to popularise the executive of the Provincial Governments simultaneously in all the Provinces, I do not think that this alone will catch the imagination of the masses. If things are done in dribblets, it will all be too late and hopeless. The British people are always accused of being late by a few minutes, and if an effort is not made simultaneously in all the Provinces, any effort short of that will fall into the same category.

India Menaced

Things, as they are now, are a menace to India. There is no doubt about it. Russia is certainly resisting; but whether the accounts we receive are true or false (we do not know) one thing is certain, and that is that the fight is going on the Russian soil, and Moscow and Kiev and other places are threatened, and there is a drive towards those places. If the Ukraine is taken by Germany, she will get possession of wheat, oil, and other things, and she will also be in a position to move to Iraq, Iran and so on to India. We must, therefore, do our best and intensify our efforts. There is absolutely no doubt about that. What I have said so far may be one way of doing it. There may be some other ways also; but the way suggested by me is also one way of doing it.

The British Empire has depended much upon the American Democracy; and in spite of the Monroe Doctrine, they are helping, although the help is not as much as it should be. Had this unfortunate country, India, been mobilised before the war, or even soon after the war, perhaps things would have been far different. This slumbering Leviathan with her 400 million souls and her endless resources of all kinds, would have been a great help to the British Government. But then, that would have been the case had the British Government trusted her. That is the

one complaint, that we are not trusted and that is the complaint that I made last year. We would have provided men in much larger numbers than we are doing now, had we been trusted. If this country had been industrialised, the supply of war materials and munitions would have been far better than it is now.

We Want to Forget

There is however no use crying over spilt milk. I hope the policy will hereafter be changed. I am glad to find that in one respect there has been a change, and that change consists in the appointment of a Defence Advisory Committee. I am not one of those who will enthuse over this Committee, for I am one of those who thinks that the entire control of the defence of my country should be with my people; that is my birthright. Yet it is better than the policy of the "mailed fist" or the "close fist," whatever you may call it, as followed up to now in military matters. I hope this is a sign of more and more trust being reposed in Indians. It will be fruitful for and have a beneficial effect on both. I have forgotten for the moment, and I hope there shall be no occasion to remember again, all the troubles and all the evils, from which India has suffered so far, as a result of the policy of Imperialism. My only desire is that in this hour of trial, it should be possible that India and England should combine as equals and defeat this Nazi tyranny which is engrossing the world; and I hope that with our combined efforts we shall be successful."

XXI

MACHIAVELLIAN TACTICS.

Nagpur, November 13th 1941.

New Delhi is presenting a fine specimen of machiavellian tactics of the Congress High command. While the Congress controlled press is pouring vials of vituperation and taking

the new members of the Viceroy's Executive Council to task for joining the expanded Cabinet and while the "Hindustan Times," edited by Mr. Devadas Gandhi, is indulging, almost daily, in drawing caricatures especially of Mr. Aney and when the Congress is interrupting the joining the Executive Council by the new members as a great betrayal of national interests, we see the humiliating spectacle of one very prominent member of the Congress High Command, who is reputed to be a great diplomat and who is observing studied silence on the present political questions, pathetically pleading for the release of political prisoners, with some of the new Executive Councillors.

In fact he went to the length of telling Mr Aney that his views were well-known but what could he do? He was helpless because the Mahatma was adamant. In order therefore to strengthen his hands for a change in the Congress policy and to try to persuade the Mahatma, this gesture on behalf of Government was necessary.

It is dangerous to hazard a prophecy at this stage for the ways of the Mahatma are mysterious but even he does not know how much hollow the ground under his feet has become.

It is a matter of common knowledge in Delhi that out of 34 Congress members of the Central Assembly gathered at Delhi 33 are totally against the present policy of Mahatma Gandhi—of neither intensifying the movement nor taking up the parliamentary programme—and only one member Mr. Mohanlal Saxena is more or less in agreement with Mahatma Gandhi's policy and he has lost no time in seeking an interview with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Dehradun.

It is an open secret in Delhi that a coalition ministry will be formed in Orissa in spite of Sardar Patel's telegraphic mandate to the seceders to resign immediately.

XXII

“ POLICY OF NEGATION ”

As was expected the India and Burma postponement of elections bill has paved its third reading in the House of Commons. During the debate a Labour Member has described this measure as an act of autocracy or an act of Dictatorship. This description of the measure from their own kith and kin is not very complementary to the British Government specially when they are proclaiming not only from house tops but from the bosom of the high seas that they are fighting for world democracy.

The main argument trotted out by the Secretary of State for India in favour of this measure was, that if the elections were held under the present conditions, it would afford an opportunity for ventilating Mr. Gandhi's policy of negation. But why blame Mr. Gandhi alone for that? Have not the British Government the same policy of negation towards Muslim political aspirations. The British Prime Minister has declared that the Atlantic Charter is not applicable to India. Let alone, the big post-war constitutional issue. Suggestions are made from many responsible quarters for popularisation of the executive Governments in the dead-lock provinces during the war, but the British Government are not willing to consider them as their democratic conscience is hurt and they are not prepared to do anything that may undermine the majority party position of the Congress. But on the very eve of the eight-point Atlantic declaration, an aggressive invasion of India was planned and executed as an exigency of the War Situation without in any way affecting the liberty loving conscience of the British Government. Verily they can swallow a camel but strain at a gnat.

So the show goes on and the rule under section 93 goes on merrily in the dead-lock provinces. And the policy of negation of the Congress with non-embarrassment to Britain and the policy of negation of the British Government with non-embarrassment to the Congress, go on parallel to one another—an ideal condition for War efforts! (Statement).

XXIII

“THE DOOR FOR COMPROMISE AJAR”

It was expected from the fighting statements of Sardar Patel, Acharya Kripalani, Rajendra Prasad, and others and the speeches delivered by some of them after Bardoli, that the Bardoli decision of the Working Committee of the Congress would be reversed at Wardha. But it was a sight to see the Mahatma himself pleading for the acceptance of the Bardoli resolution without the change of a comma, although he had issued a statement to the Press after Bardoli saying that, those who were whole-hoggers in their belief in non-violence, should convert others to their view. Now let us examine the implication of this change of front in the grand strategy of the Mahatma. He admitted that his original intention was to divide the Congress on the Bardoli resolution, but on careful examination he found, that it was a hasty decision, and endorsing the Bardoli resolution in toto was in the best interests of the country. Now let us see why the Mahatma has changed his front. The correct constitutional position for those members of the Working Committee who were whole-hoggers in their belief in non-violence, was to resign, if on a division the Bardoli resolution was declared passed at Wardha. If this would have happened Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad and other supporters of the Mahatma would have been required to resign from the Working

Committee, a contingency which the Mahatma could not have visualised with equanimity. On the contrary, if on a division, the Bardoli resolution was found to have failed in the A. I. C. C. at Wardha, Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru, Rajagopalachariar and others would have been required to resign from the Working Committee. Evidently, the Mahatma foresaw all this. He did not want his supporters like Vallabhbhai and others to go out of the Working Committee. He would not have cared if C. R. and three or four others of his way of thinking would have gone out of the Working Committee. He might have looked upon it as a good riddance, but he could not afford to lose the support of Maulana Azad—the Muslim Show Boy, according to Mr. Jinnah,—and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—the famous flashy and flamboyant, inter-nationalist. Such a division in the ranks at this juncture would have been a catastrophe to the Congress, and the Mahatma avoided it by himself advocating the acceptance of the Bardoli decision at Wardha, at the cost of truth, sincerity, honesty and let me also say, non-violence; because if the Mahatma was really sincere in his belief in non-violence, he ought to have asked the A. I. C. C. members at Wardha, to vote against the Bardoli resolution, but in a transparently insincere manner this apostle of non-violence asked the believers in it to vote against it, and thus C. R. triumphed at Wardha.

Adroit Move.

Besides, this, the scrapping of the Bardoli resolution at Wardha meant the continuance of the individual Satyagraha campaign, for which none was prepared. It may be recalled here that when manœuvres were going on at Delhi for the release of political prisoners, Mr. Gandhi came out with a statement to the Press that the release would not make him suspend the Satyagrah. Although it is so, Mr. Gandhi has soon realised that the intelligentsia in the Congress is with

C. R. and that inspite of his opinion so emphatically expressed that the Satyagraha has gone on satisfactorily according to plan, the intelligentsia believe that it has completely failed and that they are with him because they think it will be deemed to be cowardice, if they side openly with C. R. Realising the import and the implications of all this, Mr. Gandhi took advantage of the present war situation, got the Bardoli resolution passed at Wardha, and called off the Satyagraha campaign to save himself the mortification of having to eat his own boastful words.

Warning to C. R.

Whatever may happen in the future, the net result of the present happenings at Wardha is, that the door for compromise is ajar and Madam Kaikayee has given up sulking, has put on her best coquettish face and is eager to fly into the arms of Dasharatha on a suitable gesture. It is quite on the cards as Sardar V. Patel recently said in Bombay at a meeting of the Congress legislative party that, differences may arise when the time for action comes, and that may happen only if and when Britain makes an offer acceptable to some. So C. R. beware of this evil day.

Congress Help To Government.

Then it may be pertinently asked, what was the use of meeting at Wardha after Bardoli? When I sent some telegrams to Mr. Gandhi and C. R. after Bardoli and when they were published in papers, the local Congress Press scoffed at it saying that it has resulted merely in a contribution towards the telegraph revenue of Government. May I now ask whether the net result of the meeting at Wardha has also not been merely a contribution towards the Telegraph and Railway revenues of Government and thus to help towards their war efforts? For members did nothing at Wardha except register their votes like decapitated auto—

matons. The only direction given to the country at Wardha is to follow the constructive programme. This is like flogging a dead horse, for even the Mahatma knows that it is advocated by all and followed by none. (Statement).

XXIV

PARTIALITY

April 4, 1942.

Dear Mahatmaji,

I have been at great pains to restrain myself and not to trouble you with any correspondence of this nature, but the attraction between you and me is like that between positive and negative electricity and irresistible. Besides, Mahatmaji, you are such a good target that my sporting nature sometimes asserts itself.

In the issue of 'The Times of India', Bombay, dated 2nd April, 1942, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have replied to a correspondent, ".....It is no good being carried away by prejudice against the British India, in his opinion, cannot afford to look on because if Russia and China were defeated, India's own freedom would be long delayed." Assuming that this report is true, how can a Congressman and a member of the Working Committee at that give expression to such sentiments which are not so far backed by any Congress resolution? Mr. M. N. Roy was expelled from the Congress for no other offence than that of giving public expression to such sentiment. Dear, Mahatmaji, please don't tell me again that you are not even a four anna member of the Congress. Just as Pandit Nehru is India, you are the Congress, and in that capacity I ask you why should not disciplinary action be taken against Jawaharlal Nehru? Is it because he is your devotee or heir designate and Mr. M. N. Roy was not? Or is it because you have permitted

Pandit Nehru perhaps the would be Defence Member to give expression to these sentiments as a political game to dispel British distrust and suspicion of the Congress—that if it comes into power, it may deal separately with Japan or may not help the United Nations if Japan does not attack India—and to facilitate Cripps—Congress negotiations on defence, which may be in the nature of an assurance of Non-intervention given to H. E. the Commander-in-Chief. If the views expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal are in consonance with the views of the Congressmen in general, why should Congressmen have opposed the China-day celebration on 7th of Mar. 1942, and should have indulged in howlings, catcalls and booings in a public meeting held on that day to give expression to the same views and similar sentiments? I am sure you do not like this behaviour of Congressmen. Will it be too much to expect you to condemn it publicly and unequivocally in the name of truth and non-violence?

Mahatmaji, I am constrained to say that this is not the first or the only instance of gross partiality or differential treatment by you or the Congress hierarchy. There has been a series of such cases. While passing, I cannot but refer to one which stinks too much into the public nostrils—I mean the defalcation of a large sum of money belonging to the A. I. S. A. by a person who is still unknown. I do not understand what justification is there for the offender's name being still shrouded in mystery. Why should his name not be disclosed to public and why should he not be brought to book for the offence committed by him? Is he protected because he happens to be your devotee? Is it the reason why some members of the Indian Gandhi Service or Congress Ministers sought safety in Sevagram? Lord Shree Krishna of Dwapara Yuga says:—

“My devotee cannot perish” and the Mahatma of Kal-yuga (Age of Sins and Quarrels) also says “My devotees shall not perish”. Shall I congratulate you for attaining the

exhausted status of Lord Krishna in this matter, or shall I condemn you for countenancing gross injustice and partiality, and thus contributing towards inevitable weakening of the organization, which I claim is still dear to me. I therefore take this opportunity of wishing you full success in the Cripps Congress negotiations towards realization of India's long cherished dream. If this happens, please don't be carried away with the idea that the success was due to your token Civil Disobedience or non-violence or truth. Nothing of the kind. Success would be due to the international political situation not only in Europe but in the Far East, complicated by violent and virulent aggression by Japan with threat to India. So the maxim 'England's difficulty is India's opportunity' would be true, in spite of all the protestations that you did not want to embarrass Britain in her difficulty. I must compliment you for saying one thing and meaning another. As an old Bar-at-law and life-long spinner of yarns, you are the pastmaster in the art of making worse appear the better reason. By the by, Mahatmaji, when you are anti-all-war why should you have gone to Delhi and taken part all along with your friends of the Working Committee in negotiations to bring about the situation which would make the Indian people render all help in the war efforts. It appears you also helped in drafting the resolution of the Working Committee. This reminds me of a story in which some friends set out on the mission of committing adultery; one of them passionately held the view that adultery was a heinous sin, but helped his friends in drafting a letter to the object of their passion, and also in securing a conveyance in which she was to be kidnapped, to the amusement of all!

I do not mind this, Mahatmaji, it is after all an individual affair and if one's own conscience does not prick, the matter ends there. But I was not a little amused by a very recent example of indecent haste and discomfiture brought on by

it. You were so eager to show to the world your concern for Mr. Subash Bose's death, that without waiting for the confirmation of the news, you sent a condolence telegram to his mother in hot haste. They say there is a lurking suspicion of evil when too much friendship is shown, and considering all that has transpired in the past between Mr. Bose and your goodself, there is no wonder if ideas expressed in the maxim rise uppermost in one's mind. I must also remind you here that after your Rajkot fast you issued a statement in which you admitted that there was Himsai in it and that you along with a colleague harboured ill-feeling against a Public Worker.

I read in today's Independant a Congressite English Weekly of Nagpur, that at the time of laying the foundation stone of the Nava Bharat Chatralaya at the hands of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, your first Satyagrahi, some lines from the Kuran-e-sherif were read. I am one of those who respect the scriptures of all religions, but I cannot find out any reason why Kuran alone should be selected for the occasion, to the exclusion of the Gita, the Bible, the Granth-sahib and a host of others. Is it because, it is thought by Congress that all these are anathema to our Muslim brethren? Or is it because Kuran-e-sherif is to become the only scripture of the coming generation of Nava Bharat, on the principle of one language, one nation and one religion? If it is so, I can only say in pure Hindustani "Hai Rabba! hai!! hai" !!!

While concluding, I wish to make one suggestion with regard to 'Vande Mataram' which is also an anathema to our Muslim brethren, because it is Sanskrit in origin and smells of idolatry. It is a common practice these days among Congressmen to greet one another by saying "Vande Mataram" instead of the usual Ram Ram or Namaskar. Instead of Vande Mataram, Congressmen should hereafter greet one another by saying in pure Hindutani "Salam Amma Jan."

XXV

"LEKY BOAT" SINKS.

May 1942.

When Sir Stafford Cripps was at Delhi and the Congress Working Committee was carrying on negotiations with him it passed a resolution there, at one of its meeting, which contains the following passage:

"Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will."

It is evident that this passage concedes the division of India into more than one political state and gives the go-bye to the principle of the unity and integrity of India cherished so long by the Congress and all other well-wishers of the country, to whatever community or religion they may belong. It appears that the temptation of the so-called National Government was so great that the Congress Working Committee was easily misled, took the cue from the Cripps's declaration and, in its efforts to bring about a compromise with some warring elements, it did not fight shy in compromising with a cardinal principle and in so far as it has done this, it has lost the confidence of the Indian people who do not want internecine strife and Balkanisation of their country.

But it is heartening to find that the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad on the 2nd May 1942 not only gave a crushing blow to Mr. Rajagopalachariar's move but passed a counter-resolution by an overwhelming majority in the following terms:

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of different states and Provinces and

the country as a whole, and the Congress therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal ”.

Now this resolution is a direct antithesis of the portion of the resolution passed by the Working Committee quoted before, which contemplates such liberty to disintegrate. This resolution of the A. I. C. C. does not accept the proposal to disintegrate as it is detrimental to the interests of the country; while the Working Committee Resolution contemplates acceptance of such disintegration.

It is evident from the foregoing that this Resolution of the A. I. C. C. is a *de facto* vote of censure upon the Working Committee, as it is a direct disapproval of the anti-national policy of the Working Committee expressed in unambiguous language. Will the Working Committee show the decency of resigning after this? I am sure they will not because very few people have got the strength of character to resign seats of power merely for the asking. Besides, they must be realising in their heart of hearts that, in this matter, they are equally guilty with Mr. Rajagopalachariar in passing that notorious resolution in which disintegration of India was permissible. Therefore, to save themselves, they have put the whole blame upon Rajaji and mildly rebuked him so that he was made to resign from the Congress Working Committee.

The Secretary of State for India has said in the open Parliament about Rajaji that this welcome move of the Madras Ex-Premier had become possible on account of the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps. If this is not playing into the hands of a political adversary, I want to know what is! Yet a mild rebuke and resignation from the Working Committee is deemed to be enough punishment. Whatever that may be I am not concerned with it. It is food for thought for those in the Congress who still happen to retain their logic and reason. I am only concerned with poor Rajaji who had been made a scape-goat by the Working Committee and whose “leaky boat” has foundered in the deep water of the Ganges.

XXVI

"MOVEMENT FOREDOOMED TO FAIL"

August 1942.

The Congress leaders are never tired of proclaiming to the world that all their activities are based upon truth and non-violence—the cardinal principles adopted by the Congress for its activities; but the latest resolution passed by the Working Committee betrays a scant regard for both these principles as did many of the forgoing ones. Although it is a Herculean effort of over a week's deliberation and containing about two thousand words, it is singularly illogical and does not make much sense. It was authoritatively given out before the resolution was passed that the Working Committee would not now follow its old policy of non-embarrassment to Britain; but in the Resolution great emphasis is laid to show that even in launching a movement, Congress does not desire to embarrass or hinder the war efforts of the Government. Whatever may be their desire they ought to know that the launching of the movement at this juncture is bound not only to hamper the war efforts, but will virtually be an open invitation to the Fascist aggressors who are encamped on the gates of India. Frankly speaking, therefore, the resolution is a travesty of truth and transparently insincere and hypocritical. It also supports both violence and non-violence—violence for defending the country against Japanese or any other aggression and for this purpose permitting the stay of even foreign troops in India; and non-violence to fight against Britain if she does not oblige them by a peaceful and orderly withdrawal as required by the resolution. Do they not realise that if Britain is kind enough to oblige them, it will result in the substitution of nascent Fascism in the place of decadent imperialism? It will also result in the postponement of the attainment of freedom by India either for good or for a long long period.

It appears that they are smarting under the sense of frustration caused by the second expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, which even must have dashed to the ground all their hopes of Britain opening fresh negotiations with them, and they must have felt compelled to do something for their very existence as an organisation. They realise that the Congress stocks had gone low and the last movement of token civil resistance did not result in rehabilitating their lost prestige. It was, therefore, inevitable to do this stunt for regaining it. This is the genesis of the present resolution.

It is evident from the foregoing that if the movement as envisaged in the resolution is launched, it will not be based on any idea of attainment of independence by India, because the Congress leaders know or ought to know that this time the students won't support them; the Kisans won't support them; labour is frankly against them; big capitalists won't stand near them, because, they are making huge profits out of the war contracts; at best they may secretly give them some monetary help; the middle-class unemployed will not be persuaded to join them, the scheduled castes are opposed to them and the Muslims are frankly hostile; the movement is therefore foredoomed to fail. Under these conditions whatever the Congress leaders may say the movement is entirely the outcome of egoism as is evidenced by a reply given by Mahatma Gandhi to a questioner who questioned him on the lurid results likely to occur on the launching of a movement at this juncture. Says the Mahatma. "Why should you shove all the blame on to me for all that may happen by reason of my taking action for the discharge of an overdue debt and that too when the discharge has become the necessary condition of my life." I have purposely underlined the word 'my'. There is no reference to the country.

Many Congress leaders when they were released after their last incarceration after the token Civil disobedience

have deprecated any further jail-going programme, when the enemy was knocking at the gates of India. Pt. Jawaharlal had said in reply to a questioner that it was foolish to sit comfortably in jail when the people are threatened with outside aggression. We must remain with our people to be able to render them all possible succour. If it was foolish a few months ago, is it not more foolish now when the situation has worsened? I hold no brief for Britain. British in India are not blameless but if the Congress launches such a movement at this juncture knowing full well its disastrous consequences, it will be more blameworthy.

Small fries are promptly dealt with by the Government under the Defence of India rules, on the slightest provocation; but such resolutions which are obviously designed to have the effect of hampering war efforts are allowed to be broadcast. The Government may be afraid to strike, lest the blow may flare up the movement; or they may still want to pursue their old policy of wooing the Congress and despising the unconditional co-operators in war efforts. Whatever that may be, the Government at least should try to be consistent and free from the charge of invidious distinction laid against them by the man in the street. For this purpose they should declare that the Congress was exempt from the operation of the defence of India rules.

People should steer clear of this movement if launched, because it is not going to achieve independence but is sure to cause disaster. No Indian, these days, to whatever party or religion he may belong, wants to remain dependent on Britain or any other power. Independence of India is now a world problem and the Indian soldier is fighting for it on the battle-fields of the world. Ten to one it is probable that after the war the world forces will recognise the independent status of India, if not we, as men will fight for it by whatever means we can, till we achieve it.

(Statement)

"BE EXPELLED OR GET OUT"

October 1938.

Friends and Countrymen,

It is true that the function of hoisting the Congress-Flag on this Dasera-Day was to be performed at my hands and it was fixed sometimes ago but I must frankly tell you that circumstances have changed since then. I was then a congressman but I have heard yesterday on the Radio that I have been expelled from the Congress bell, book and candle. I am therefore no longer a Congressman at least one toeing the line with the Congress High Command. You are, therefore, at liberty to have this function performed at the hands of somebody else, (voices: we want you to perform it.) It is very kind of you but I must tell you frankly that this flag although a Congress-flag will be a banner of revolt, not against the Congress as an institution, not against the ideals cherished by all but against the autocracy, and the injustice of the Congress High Command supported and backed by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi himself. So if you have this function performed by me a rebel against the Congress High Command you also will be rebels by implications. Now after having made the position clear is it still your pleasure that I should perform this function? (voices yes, yes, we are all rebels against injustice whosoever does it).

I thank you very much for the great confidence you have placed in me this morning. It gives me a great pain to hoist this banner of revolt but I have to do it in the interest of the country and the freedom which we all desire. The working of the hierarchy of the Congress under the hallow of Gandhism has unfortunately resulted in stifling the

power of thinking of the people and inculcated mental slavery amongst the masses. Mental slavery is the worst form of slavery. We must revolt against it. Besides this, the monopoly of office in the Congress Working Committee by the same persons year after year has created some self interest for them which is harming our fight for ideals of democratic freedom. It must now be patent to you all that there is no democracy in the Congress. The President is a puppet in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi who by the way is not even the four anna-member in the Congress and takes pride in it and who virtually appoints the Working Committee behind the scenes. The curse of India has been as is evident from every page of our past history that there is too much dependence upon one individual howsoever great he may be. The Congress is committing the same historical mistake and until we revolt against this and get rid of this situation Congress cannot function as a democratic organisation, fighting for the freedom of the masses. It is, therefore that I have raised this banner of revolt with the consent of you all on this auspicious day of Dasarah. You know the forefathers of us Marathas started their invasions and campaigns on this auspicious day. I am definite that this revolt will spread amongst Congressmen all over. I am a small man. I do not care what happens to me but the fire lit by me today will spread and you will see that in short time big persons in the Congress organisation will have to revolt against this Gandhian Dictatorship and be expelled or get out. This dictatorship is so cruel that even those who are near and dear to him will find it necessary to revolt against this unholy dictatorship. Brothers I have finished, Vande-mataram. (Lecture)

A MIRACLE !

Now that Gandhiji's fast is over and the Government has issued a communique saying that he was out of danger and that no more communiques would be issued ; it is time that one should dispassionately discuss the happenings of the last four weeks in connection with the fast and subject them to a critical analysis with a view to arrive at the truth about this latest experiment with truth of Gandhiji.

Many people had an idea that Gandhiji might go on a fast some time or other during the period of his incarceration. But the immediate cause of the fast was the preferment of the charge-sheet by the Viceroy against Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command about recent happenings in the country. But instead of giving a categorical answer to the charge sheet one way or the other Gandhiji pleaded for facilities to consult with the members of the Working Committee. Mr. Gandhi is not even a four anna member of the Congress and parades this fact whenever it suits him. Why should he now plead for consultation with the Congress Working Committee members before replying to the charge-sheet is beyond one's comprehension ! Besides Gandhiji has declared himself to be no longer a citizen of the British Empire and likewise has asked others to do so in connection with his 'Quit India' movement. Is it not infradig of a great man like Gandhiji to plead for concessions with the representative of the British Empire in India ? But it is a side issue with which we are not concerned and we will leave it at that for the Mahatma himself.

Instead of meeting the charge-sheet directly Gandhiji after a lot of rigmarole went off at a tangent and threatened a fast not unto death but unto capacity. In this connection Gandhiji writes "My fast is on my part meant to be an appeal to the Highest Tribunal for justice" "If I do not survive the ordeal I will go before my Maker with the fullest faith in my innocence". Government offered to release Gandhiji for the period of the fast but Gandhiji refused the offer saying he would break the fast if released and restart it if rearrested. From this it is clear that Gandhiji sought his release from imprisonment with the threat of the fast. This is the genesis of the fast. Now let us see what the Congress Working Committee whom Gandhiji wanted to consult has to say on such fasts. I quote from a resolution passed by that body on the 3rd February 1938. "The Committee definitely disapproves the policy of resorting to hunger strikes on the part of political prisoners in order to obtain their release.....". On 12th August 1939 the Congress Working Committee condemned such hunger strikes. It says "The Working Committee expresses its strong conviction that it is wrong on the part of prisoners political or otherwise to resort to hunger strike for their release. The Committee is of opinion that if prisoners can secure their discharge by hunger strikes, orderly Government would become impossible". The Working Committee was in power then, but now it is behind the prison-bars; so, their views might have changed. Let us therefore see what Mr. Gandhi himself has to say on hunger strikes or fasts. Says Gandhiji in Harijan of 18th August 1939. "Hunger stikes have positively become a plague. On the slightest pretext some people want to resort to a hunger strike. It is well therefore that the Working Committee has condemned the practice in unequivocal terms so far atleast as hunger strikes for discharge from imprisonment are concerned." I know that the stock

argument of Gandhiji himself that "consistency is a hobgoblin of little minds, may be flung in the face to controvert the above, but I leave the people to judge whether it is cogent in every case and in this case particularly.

The 'kept' press of the Congress has sedulously fostered and propagated the belief throughout the country that the successful termination of the ordeal of Gandhiji's 21 days fast has been a miracle, and that a supernatural and mystic halo is attached to it. It is useless to complain against the Congress Press because propoganda is their business, but I am surprised to find that men of a scientific frame of mind and of India-wide medical reputation like Dr. B. C. Roy should have come forward to lend colour to this supposition of the intervention of the Almighty in this fast affair. Dr. Roy says "We were apprehensive that if the fast was not ended it would be difficult to save him..... But the tide turned and the Almighty willed otherwise." Evidently Dr. Roy refers to the period when Gandhiji showed signs of Uraemia during the fast. Every medical man knows that continuous fasting results in acid intoxication, Uraemia and death, and the only proper remedy for it according to the severity of symptoms is intravenous injection of glucose or giving easily assimilable food in some form or other. In the case in point this was exactly the course that was followed. On the 21st February when Gandhiji's condition worsened and signs of Uraemia appeared Gandhiji was given sweet-lime-juice by the doctors to save his life, and life was saved. The whole course of events was most ordinary the symptoms, the remedy and the result obtained were all such as would be ordinarily expected under any similar circumstances. There is nothing extraordinary or miraculous about it. Why should Dr. Roy then see in this event the hand or the will of the Almighty? In ordinary human parlance anything that happens in the

world is said to have happened as the will of God. If this is the sense which Dr. Roy wants to convey I have no quarrel with him, but if he wants to import an extraordinary idea of a miraculous happening or the idea of a special intervention by an unseen power he as a scientific man has failed to justify himself. Dr. Roy further tells us that Mahatma Gandhi had told the doctors attending on him that in case he becomes unconscious he should not be given nourishment of any kind, and the doctors fulfilled this duty of carrying out his wishes. May I ask Dr. B. C. Roy whether the sweet-lime juice—I would prefer to call it Mosambi juice along with Mr. Deodas Gandhi who resents it being called sweet-lime juice—which was given to Gandhiji on 21st Feb. and onwards for some time was not nourishment of any kind? Or does Dr. Roy want to suggest that the Mosambi juice given to Gandhiji by doctors on 21st Feb. and days after was medicine and the same stuff given to him on the 21st day of his fast on the 3rd March, by Mrs. Gandhi when he publicly and authoritatively broke his fast was nourishment or food? Is it not a fact that on the fourteenth day of his fast Mr. Gandhi was given as much as 20 ounces of juice? Is it not nourishment in any sense of the term? Has it not got the power to sustain life? Do not typhoid patients sustain life on Mosambi juice for weeks on end? Then why does Dr. Roy want to maintain and tell the public that no nourishment was given to Gandhiji according to his wishes till the 3rd of March? But I forget that Dr. Roy is an orthodox Congressman, was once upon a time a member of the Congress Working Committee and is one of the greatest Gandhites in Bengal and one of the ad-hocists appointed by Gandhiji to carry on Congress work in Bengal after Mr. Bose was expelled and the Bosite Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was superseded just like any municipality is superseded by the government. So the riddle is solved! Dr. Roy was hard put to it to reply a searching question put to him by a

western journalist, when he asked him whether the fast was broken on the 21st of Feb. or not? He had to wriggle out by saying that Gandhi's idea of fast was different from the western idea of fast. But this is not correct. The idea of religious fast is more or less the same everywhere in the world. To a Hindu, during fast sago is allowed in place of rice. To a Christian during lent fast fish is allowed in place of meat and during Ramzan to the faithful food is allowed after sundown and before sunrise. So generally speaking, fast implies change of food or change of hour. If Dr. Roy wants to suggest that this is the idea behind Gandhiji's fast I have no quarrel with him. What is the use of mincing matters? The fact of the matter is that the fast was virtually broken on 21st of Feb. and as it was a fast into capacity there was nothing wrong in breaking it on that date when the capacity ended and announcing it to the world. This would have been the exact truth yet the delusion was maintained that Gandhiji successfully terminated his fast on the 3rd of March the appointed date. As a matter of fact Gandhiji became better and better after 21st Feb. as the communiques show because it was not a fast unto death and Gandhiji did not want to die yet by using the words "If I do not survive the ordeal" in his correspondence with the Viceroy Gandhiji created an impression that he might just as well die.

Verily as Dr. Roy says "Gandhiji fooled us all." It was a Himalayan hoax which victimised the three unwary and uncantious members of the Viceroy's cabinet who resigned in terror of Gandhiji's impending death. Gandhiji has also fooled the leaders who want to bring about results with the help of the situation created by Gandhiji's fast, which the fast itself had failed to achieve. In this matter Mr. Deodas Gandhi is very shrewd; he says he does not wish to attempt a public assessment of the results of the fast.

I have taken this trouble to subject the fast to a critical analysis because mental slavery has gone too far and it must be combated in public interest. I had no desire to have a dig at Ganhiji during his imprisonment. His name has to be mentioned because it will be impossible to discuss the drama of Hamlet without mentioning the Prince of Denmark. I know Mahatma Gandhi is a man of strong determination and will, and I will not be surprised if he goes on fast unto death on the issue of independence, or "Quit India". I hope he does not do it. May he live long to serve his country, according to the guidance of his inner-voice. But I must call a spade a spade and say that this fast was more akin to a farce.

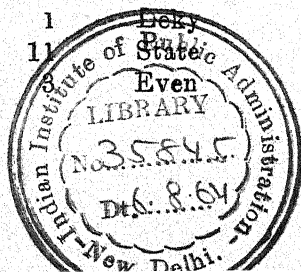
[Statement on 11-3-43].

Errata.

Part I.

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
2	7	Johnni	Johinny.
3	4	character	charter
9	26	Sivaji	Shivaji.
9	33	due	due to.
12	8	owe	own
13	14	he	be
17	16	as	-
20	22	is	a
25	29	n;	no
25	30	o	-
26	16	Balial	Belial
31	16	morass	morass of
31	16	as	is
31	32	in efficient	inefficient
1	1	Part I.	Part II.
3	22	so	is
14	11	articals	articles
15	4	V. N.	V. M.
19	4	Province	Province was
23	4	indiscipline	indiscipline and
29	25	er eand	ere and
38	13	Kausala	Kausalya
38	31	Shyanagar	Shayanagar
40	4	मानते	जानते
54	4	as	as by
"	5	of	-
"	18	accrue	occur
58	4	Kholapur	Kolhapur
61	14	is	in

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
64	24	is	has
65	35	grade	grandeur
67	13	this	his
70	9	response and	responsive
"	10	and	-
71	2	ally	rally
"	19	astrayed	strayed
"	28	the	-
73	2	which	while
"	5	high	his
74	31	the	—
78	14	constitution	contribution
80	15	Triumph	Trump
81	10	condition	conditions
"	16	the	—
84	9	mojarity	majority
85	23	a head	ahead
87	16	1942	1941
90	12	me	be
91	4	simultaneously	simultaneously
"	19	pasition	position
93	5	interrupting	interpreting
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94	17	Muslim	Indian
"	27	India	Iraq
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101	34	Instean	Instead
102	1	Leaky	Leaky
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105		Event	Event



APPENDIX

I

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

It has been found by experience that the present Police force is inadequate for the prevention of breaches of peace among the different Communities. It is impossible to think of increasing the strength of the Police force. Provision has therefore been made in this Bill for enrolling a civic guard, who can be called out to assist the authorities in preventing or suppressing riots or breaches of peace. It is also hoped that the very existence of a Civic guard will act as a check on the riotous tendencies of mischief-mongers.

It is laid down in the Bill that the cost of raising and maintaining Civic guard should be met by the Municipal Committees and Notified Area Committees who should not grudge the making of contributions which can be made by rules to come from well-to-do persons in those areas.

A Bill for raising and maintaining civic guards in Central Provinces and Berar No. of

Whereas it is expedient to raise and maintain civic guards in each District in this province; it is hereby enacted as follows :—

Short title, extent and commencement.

Section (1).—

(1) This Act may be called the Civic Guards Act 193 .

(2) It extends to the whole province.

(3) It shall come into force on such date as may be notified in the Gazette.

Section (2)—

There shall be a joint board of all Municipal and notified area Committees in every District, the constitution of which be as follows :—

- (a) (i) 5 Members elected by the members of the Municipal Committee of the headquarters of the District,
- (ii) 2 Members elected by each Municipal Committee and Notified area Committee in the District.
- (b) The first meeting of the Board shall be convened by the President of the Municipal Committee of the Head-quarters of the District for electing a President and Vice President of the Board.
- (c) The Provincial Government shall make rules regulating the Elections of the Members and Office bearers of the Board, their tenures of office, dismissals, bye-elections and other incidental matters.

Section (3)—

- (i) It shall be the duty of the Board to raise and maintain for service in the District a body of persons to be designated as civic guard forming one or more units not containing in all more than 2000 men who shall be selected by the Board from amongst the residents of the District without restriction of caste or creed.

- (ii) The Provincial Government shall make rules regulating the enrolment selection of men, formation of unit appointment of officers, maintenance of efficiency, trainings of men and officers in the use of fire-arms and other weapons.

Section (4)—

- (i) The expenditure of the Board on the raising and maintaining of civic guard shall be met by contributions fixed by the Provincial Government out of the revenues of the Municipal and Notified area Committees.
- (ii) The Municipal and Notified area Committees may impose a tax subject to the rules made by the Provincial Government in this behalf, on residents in the Municipal and Notified areas, holding house property therein just sufficient in the aggregate to meet the contribution referred to in sub-Section (i).

Section (5)—

- (i) The Board shall have complete control over the activities of the civic guard and shall allocate duties to it, in pursuance of the rules and orders of the Provincial Government.
- (ii) The Provincial Government shall make rules to carry out the purposes of sub-rule (1),

Section (6)—

The Provincial Government may make rules for enforcing and maintaining discipline in the

civic guard and levying penalties for breaches.

Section (7)—

The men and officers of the civic guard shall be deemed to be members of Indian territorial force, for the purpose of the Indian Arms Act, only.

Section (8)—

The Provincial Government shall make rules prescribing the age, educational qualifications medical examination, clothing equipment, discharge and other matters incidental to the raising and maintaining of the civic guard.

Section (9)—

For the purposes of Section 128, Section 130, and Section 131 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, all officers and men of the civic guard who have been appointed to units shall be deemed to be officers and soldiers of His Majesty's Army.

Section (10)—

No person shall be liable to pay any Municipal or other tax in respect of any horse, bicycle, Motor-bicycle, Motor Car or other conveyance which he is authorised by rules made under Section 7 to maintain in his capacity as a member of the civic guard.

year of Provincial Autonomy has worked well and that Provincial Legislatures have shown imagination and responsibility in a high degree. The coping stone of the edifice as it is prescribed in the Government of India Act is still to be fixed in place.

But I am glad to say that the long period of work preparatory to the implementing of Federation is now drawing rapidly to a close.

No effort will be spared on my part or on the part of His Majesty's Government to expedite the realisation of that great ideal the achievement of which is calculated to promote the unity of India and to advance the welfare of her interests."

30. A SATISFYING OCCUPATION

April 23,
1938

Speech at the opening of the Malakand Hydro-Electric Scheme on April 23, 1938 :—

"Your Excellency, Dr. Khan Sahib and Gentlemen,—Before declaring this Scheme open I must, first, very briefly, express my great pleasure not only in visiting Malakand, full as it is from the earliest times of historic associations, but also at being present on this particular occasion of the opening of the Malakand Hydro-Electric Scheme, which, you will agree, is another example of those solid achievements which, like great milestones, mark the inspiring history of constructive engineering in India.

Although, as Mr. Oram said, the idea of generating electricity in Malakand is an old one, it is doubtful whether even now it would have taken practical shape but for the enthusiasm and engineering genius of Mr. Burkitt, whose work, as we all know, has left its mark on so many different parts of the North-West Frontier. The completion of a great work such as this is cause for congratulation not only of those in whose minds the idea originally germinated but of those who were responsible for planning and carrying out the actual construction of the work. I would like particularly to mention Mr. Ross, who has been in charge during the anxious period of construction, and who is to be congratulated on the speed and smoothness with which the work has been carried out. Mr. Arnall's death last summer after a long illness, patiently borne, was a serious blow to the Scheme, and I would mention here that at the conclusion of this ceremony I shall unveil a memorial tablet in his memory. I would like, too, to congratulate Mr. Oram and all his staff who have been concerned either with the purely electrical part of the Scheme or with the civil works connected with it.

While congratulating you all I must confess to a certain amount of mild jealousy. An engineer's always seems to me to be one of the most satisfying of occupations. You plan, you labour, and in due course the results are before your eyes in concrete—usually in more senses than one—form. You watch, you improve, you possibly build again—all these with a reasonable confidence that unless some unforeseen disaster overtakes you your work will remain

and function properly. As a politician and an administrator I cannot but envy you that confidence.

It is not for me to expatiate at length on the benefits that will accrue from this Scheme, but the possibilities of development consequent on this supply of cheap power are fascinating. I would only mention that with this supply of energy there seems considerable scope for the development of industries such as the establishment of sugar factories; cotton, wool and flour mills; ginning and baling plants. The power can also be used for the irrigation of land uncommanded by canals on the lines of experiments which have been carried on with success in other Provinces in India. But while the inauguration of a Scheme such as this with all its great potentialities should provoke enthusiasm and initiative, it is also a time for caution. Schemes fraught with such possibilities of beneficial development are often spoiled by the adoption of short-sighted policy in control. I trust that it will not be taken amiss if, speaking from my experience as a business man and as an administrator, I touch on one or two points which seem to me of importance. The first is the question of staff. While I fully appreciate the very natural desire to give preference to local men when the question of employment arises, I cannot over-emphasize the necessity for entertaining the experienced and efficient staff essential to rapid development, and the danger of sacrificing efficiency to other interests. To recruit any thing but the best material available would be dangerously short-sighted. And equally it would be dangerously short-sighted to hope for a quick return by charging high rates in the initial stages. Such a course would inevitably stifle development, and I am sure that the wiser course will be to start with cheap rates to encourage prospective consumers. I make these suggestions because I feel, and I am confident you will agree, that it will be more than unfortunate if for avoidable reasons this Scheme was not used and developed to the maximum of its obviously great potentiality."

31. AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

Co-ordination in matters of common concern to autonomous provinces and States was fostered during Lord Linlithgow's regime through conferences called at the initiative of the Central Government. Lord Linlithgow's speech in opening a conference of Ministers on agricultural marketing at New Delhi on November 29, 1938 :—

**Nov. 29,
1938**

"Gentlemen,—I am glad to welcome to the Capital this very representative gathering of Ministers from the Provinces of British India and from the Indian States. Your attendance here today, and many of you have travelled far in order to be with us, is welcome proof of the importance you attach to the subject of Agricultural Marketing. Let me say at once that your interest will be an immense encouragement to all in the Government of India who have been associated with this most important aspect of agricultural improvement.

Sir Jagdish Prasad has referred to my past experience in the field of agricultural marketing. In Great Britain my colleagues and I signed the last of our five reports on the Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce in November 1923. These reports led, in 1924, to the setting up of the Marketing branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and in 1928 Parliament passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act. I mentioned this because it is of interest to notice that in Great Britain it took about 5 years to get under way from the moment of the initial impulse.

In India, as Sir Jagdish has reminded us, the Royal Commission on Agriculture, reporting in 1928, stressed the great importance of Agricultural Marketing and linked it with transportation. In 1934 the Provincial Economic Conference led to the initiation of the present marketing scheme under which the Government of India provide a central staff now consisting of 20 officers, while the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided ten lakhs of rupees spread over a period of five years to meet part of the cost of Provincial Marketing Staffs. These grants were made in order that the all-India commodity surveys might be carried out on an uniform basis. But it is worthy of comment that, at each stage, there has been spontaneous co-operation from the autonomous Provinces and States. Each provincial Government has from the outset, at its own cost, provided a Provincial Marketing Officer to take charge of the provincial section of the work ; and several Governments have provided additional marketing staff and, more recently, have taken over some of the experimental developments such as grading stations. Many of the States, of whom no less than 220 have co-operated in this matter, have provided their own marketing staffs, and they have all readily collaborated with the Central Marketing Staff both in the commodity surveys and in such practical matters as marking and grading. In 1937 the Central Legislature passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, and it is significant to notice that in India this stage was reached about three years after Mr. Livingstone's arrival and rather less than two years from the completion of the Marketing Staff. In England, as I have told you, a period of five years elapsed between the setting up of the Marketing branch and the passage into law of the first Marketing Act. It is, I think, encouraging to note that despite the formidable complications and diversities of the Indian marketing system, merchants and market men in this country have shown themselves just as ready as their brethren in the West to avail themselves of well thought out marketing improvements. The position today is that six marketing reports are now complete, and that a further four are well advanced. In congratulating all concerned upon the very promising beginning that has thus been achieved, I feel that I must affirm my conviction, born of my own considerable experience, that adequate preliminary surveys are essential to the construction of sound schemes of marketing. Careful economic reconnaissance is an essential preliminary of every sound scheme, and I would confidently recommend all who are responsible for the construction of such schemes to count neither time nor money wasted which are spent in prosecuting with

zeal and efficiency these essential preliminary studies. In work of this nature, anxious as we all of us naturally are to improve producers' prices, it is seldom wise to attempt the short cuts. Rough and ready methods may seem at the outset to give quick results, but those are not the results that will stand the test of time. Organized marketing means the application of scientific methods to the problems of collection and distribution. That is why emphasis is laid on the importance of basing all future action on an adequate assembly of tested facts. Again, in using those facts and in drawing deductions from them, the scientific is the only safe method, which is to mistrust each conclusion until it has been subjected to every possible test.

In India an important stage has now been reached for many marketing surveys have been completed or are well advanced, and broad conclusions have emerged which call for application on a wide scale. It is satisfactory to note that Central and Provincial Staffs did not wait the completion of the all-India commodity reports before studying the possibilities of development. At a comparatively early stage the necessity of certain lines of improvement became clear. The standardisation of weights and measures, a wider adoption of the system of regulated markets, which had already proved its value in some parts of India, a fact emphasised by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, are recommendations common to all the reports. It was also apparent from the outset that grading and standardisation would offer a fruitful field for development and in consequence, on the recommendation of the Provincial Economic Conference of 1934, the preliminary studies on quality necessary for the consideration of grade standards were started simultaneously with the marketing surveys. This stage was followed by the setting up of experimental grading stations for such commodities as fruit, eggs and hides and skins which the surveys showed to be susceptible of such treatment. It was speedily found that, as in other countries, legislative action was needed to protect the marks, and as Sir Jagdish Prasad has said, the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act directed to that purpose was passed by the Central Legislature in February 1937.

It is of interest to note that the total number of experimental grading stations now in operation is about 25.

Standardisation, the determination of grades, is more than agreement on convenient categories of physical attributes—size, colour, purity, water or fat content, and the like. Standards must be very definitely related to the requirements of the consumer, that is to the saleability of the produce. Standardisation is a pre-requisite of effective advertisement. Standardisation, the determination and strict adherence to grades, is a key to distant markets, and—given improved world conditions—a sure road to expanding business. But marketing organizations can do something beyond promoting the orderly and economic distribution and sale of primary produce. An efficient marketing organization should be the grower's intelligence bureau. Often you will find that the cultivator, who cannot himself be in touch with distant and overseas markets, will prefer a crop, or a particular

variety of some crop, because of its agricultural advantage, that is because it is easy to grow, or because it matures at a convenient moment in the seasonal routine of the holding, or appears to give a particularly heavy yield. Sometimes, indeed, a variety will be sown in deference to mere local fashion and familiarity. But the Marketing Officer, who knows the requirements of the ultimate markets and the prices ruling in those markets, is quite frequently in a position to advise the cultivator that he will increase his prospects of profit by growing some variety other than that one which seems to possess the highest agricultural advantage. Evidently this function of a marketing service may be of great value in conditions in which world markets in terms of the relative demand for different kinds of primary produce is—for one reason or another—in a state of change and uncertainty. Causes so different as the development of synthetic substitutes, or the economic aftermath of a war may substantially promote the demand for one type of produce at the expense of some other. Consider how much loss may be spared to the grower if his marketing organisation—what I have called his intelligence bureau—is able to provide him with very early warning of such a change in demand.

The improvement of marketing offers a fruitful field for co-operation between the Central Government, Provinces and States. The development of marketing, in the main, falls within the provincial sphere, but the main problems are of a wider character. Though the production of many commodities is localised, but the areas of concentration are scattered throughout the country and are not confined to any particular Province or State, the consumption of a product is generally spread over the whole country and many are of all-India importance both as regards our internal and export trade. Wider issues relating to the finance of the primary producer are also involved, since marketing reforms are essential before the commercial banks can fully develop a system of short-term produce advances. In the report of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India for 1936 it is stated that short-term advances for marketing produce should be regarded as one of the most important parts of banking business, but that the commercial banks have hitherto been unable to develop produce advances to the extent of their capacity owing to the extraordinary diversification and vagueness of market conditions throughout India and the manner in which produce contracts are drawn. In this connection, the Report stresses the importance of the following improvements in marketing, machinery and practice: (i) a reasonable standardisation of the staples and of the contracts relating to them; (ii) the provision, in properly regulated markets and elsewhere, of suitable storage under conditions which would permit of proper insurance; and (iii) the establishment where possible and advisable of properly-regulated forward markets permitting of 'hedging' and thus to the mitigation of violent market fluctuations. It is therefore satisfactory to note that an agreement has been reached with the principal trade associations for standard future contracts for wheat and linseed, and that discussions are well advanced in regard to standards for groundnuts and coffee. Equally to be welcomed is the

progress now being made in several provinces with legislation for the setting up or improvement of regulated markets. As progress is made with these two items, the consideration of the establishment of more adequate terminal or future markets would be possible. To what extent provinces will, in future, require assistance from a central marketing staff in this and cognate matters is one of the matters which the Conference will consider."

32. ADVICE TO LANDLORDS

Extracts from Lord Linlithgow's reply at a dinner given at Darbhanga by the Maharajadhiraja on December 11, 1938 :— **Dec. 11, 1938**

"...I am well aware of the great territorial interests which you, Maharajadhiraja, represent. You have referred in your speech to my strong desire to assist the advance of the rural community to a fuller life: and you know of my own deep and abiding feeling for the countryside and the close interest which I have always taken in the welfare of the land and in the prosperity of those connected with it. I am delighted in these circumstances to meet here tonight so many representatives of great land-owning families representing long traditions in their various provinces. This is not the occasion for a political speech, and following your example I do not propose to talk politics tonight. But I shall not I think be straying beyond the appropriate limits if I refer in two words to the great importance of the landed interest, its potentialities for good, and the contribution which it is in a position to make to the welfare of the countryside—whether in terms of the improvement of the condition of tenantry, or in terms of the development of natural resources and the introduction of up-to-date appliances and methods of farming. Very much has I know been done in this direction already by enlightened landlords. Much must inevitably remain to be done in a country of the size of India, a country distinguished by such varieties of soil, climate and agricultural problems, and I am sure that you, Gentlemen, with your great experience and your great responsibilities, are as fully alive to this as anyone can be. . . ."

33. SIGNIFICANCE OF FEDERAL SCHEME

In opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India at Calcutta on December 19, 1938, Lord Linlithgow devoted his speech mainly to the issue of Federation :— **Dec. 19, 1938**

"...I have had the advantage this summer of renewing personal contact with the Secretary of State. And I have been able, too, to renew the same personal contact with Members of both Houses and with His Majesty's Ministers. There has never been any divergence of view—though I have seen that suggested—between my Noble Friend the Secretary of State, or His Majesty's Government, and myself on the Federal issue, but in speaking to you today I can do so with the additional confidence as to our entire unity of purpose and

approach given by my conversations this summer. While I have been away, and since I have returned, a further stage, and a vital one, in the clearing of the approach to Federation has been achieved: and I am glad, gentlemen, to be able to speak to you today with the knowledge that the Princes are shortly to receive the revised draft Instrument, and will be asked to signify within an appropriate interval of time their decision on it.

In measuring the reactions of public opinion to any proposal of major political importance, it is well to remind ourselves that the circumstances of political controversy tend everywhere to magnify and to advertise those points as to which there is difficulty or deep divergence of opinion, while those matters as to which there is concord and common agreement are too often—in the heat and dust of the fray—forgotten or set aside. So indeed has it been in regard to the controversy upon the question of All-India Federation. Yet, if the matter be impartially examined, it will be found that upon the essential merits of Federation there is wide and, in some highly important regards, unanimous agreement.

Let me attempt for a moment to probe the deeper reasons—the underlying instincts, upon which rests the understanding, so universal today, of the immense importance to India at this time of attaining a fuller political life without sacrificing the ideal of unity. What are the considerations, historical and contemporary, which have harnessed the wider patriotism of Indians to the heavy task of securing the political integration of their country? Surely it is the deep conviction that upon unity depends the position and prestige of India before the nations, and her capacity to take her due place in the world and to exercise upon world development the influence to which she is entitled by right of her history, her importance and her culture. For the due fulfilment of her destiny, unity is essential. In the past India has suffered much and lost many things as the direct and unescapable penalty of internal schism and division. These truths lie deeply embedded in the historical consciousness of the people. I am convinced that their realisation today contributes most materially to shape opinion upon contemporary problems. Quickening and fortifying these powerful impulses, there is quite evidently a growing comprehension of the position of India in a world which has now beyond doubt entered upon one of those formative periods, the outcome of which must affect the shape of human affairs upon this planet for many generations to come. It is certain that, in one shape or another, such a crisis must impose intense stresses and crucial tests upon all people. That India is aware of these matters, none may doubt. Her statesmen are constantly extending and broadening the range and scope of their survey, her public is increasingly disposed to look outwards towards the great world of international affairs, not as mere spectators, but as those who grasp the significance of India's place in the environment of modern world problems. Such stirrings of the national consciousness are bound soon to seek their due expression. How can they find expression unless unity upon All-India basis is achieved?

Upon the economic significance of Federation there can, I imagine, be no serious doubt or dissent, and I am confident that commercial and financial interests throughout India are fully alive to its importance. I venture to hope that those interests, whether Indian or European, will make a direct contribution towards the education of public opinion upon this weighty aspect of federation. The full fruits of union will not ripen in a moment, but I believe that substantial benefits will very soon accrue. Differences and exceptions in the economic field may—no doubt will—survive the achievement of the Federal scheme. That, in the nature of things, is but to be expected. But the achievement of that scheme cannot, in my judgment, but tend to harmonise the interests of all parties without material injury to any ; to weld together from the economic and fiscal point of view, in a manner and to an extent which could not otherwise be looked for, the Indian States and British India ; and to ensure the alleviation of that lack of unity which, whatever its historical explanation, cannot in this sphere but strike the observer as calculated to reduce efficiency, and to hamper the development of India's natural resources, and of her commercial and industrial opportunities.

When we last met a year ago, Provincial Autonomy had been in operation for nine months. The experience of those nine months had left me confident that whatever difficulties lay ahead (and the possibility of difficulty and misunderstanding was as present then as it is today), the workability and the essential soundness of the scheme devised by Parliament had proved themselves ; and that, whatever criticisms might be levelled on points of detail, the foundation was the right one, and, given understanding and goodwill, the scheme of provincial autonomy sound and workable. I was confident too that the autonomous provincial governments, whatever party they represented, could in the working of provincial autonomy expect in the fullest measure from Governors, from the Services, and, in so far as he was concerned, from the Governor-General, friendly and ready co-operation.

Another year's experience of the working of provincial autonomy leaves, I venture to claim, no room for doubt on any of these points. The tributes which Ministers of all political parties have in recent months paid to the work of the great Services speak for themselves. I know from first hand how real is the importance which Ministers attach to the loyal and willing co-operation which they have received. I can speak equally from first hand of the friendly character of the relations between Governors, standing as the King's representatives outside and above party, and their Ministers. As to the working of the special responsibilities, you will, I am sure, agree that the forecast which I gave in my message to India of June last year has been amply and fully realised. He would be a bold man who, today, even in these conditions, excluded the possibility, from one cause or other, of difficulty, even of very serious difficulty, in the future. But, on a broad view, the great experiment of provincial autonomy, the transfer of real powers to Ministers elected by an electorate five times the size of any electorate that had previously voted in India, has proved a

marked success. And, given the continuance of the goodwill and the understanding which has been given in such full measure, there is no reason today why we should not look with confidence to the future. I have no fear that, given the same goodwill and the same co-operation, the Federal scheme, manned by the joint talent and experience of British India and the Indian States, will not be as great and as significant a success as Provincial Autonomy has been.

I am familiar with the criticism that the Federal scheme is too restricted in its scope. Nor do I overestimate, in relation to federation, the importance or the value of the inferences to be drawn from the working of provincial autonomy. For all that, when I consider criticisms such as those which I have just mentioned, I cannot but think of the apprehensions expressed, and, I am sure, genuinely and sincerely felt, at the time of the introduction of provincial autonomy. I would ask whether experience has not shown the reality of the powers then transferred, the ready spirit of co-operation of Governors and the Services, the immense potentialities which the scheme of provincial autonomy, whatever hesitations it may have engendered before it was brought into being, has placed in the hands of Ministers. And I would point to the fact that the special responsibilities placed upon Governors by the Act have admitted, over a period of now more than 18 months, of being operated in the manner in which the Act intended them to be operated, without any interference with the orderly development of the provincial scheme, and without those frequent clashes between Ministers and Governors which were in so many quarters apprehended as likely. I am confident that, after all allowance has been made for the different setting of the stage, we may look for a similar state of things with the introduction of the Federal scheme.

To draw a strict parallel between the Federal portions of the Act and the provincial portions would be misleading. But I would like to express my own profound conviction of the value and the importance of the orderly processes inherent in the Federal scheme, and of the seeds of development which that scheme contains. I no more under-rate here than in the case of provincial autonomy the sincerity of the doubts which critics of Federation may feel. But I would ask them to give Federation the trial which I am convinced that it deserves. Given goodwill and understanding, I am sure that results of the greatest and most lasting importance to the benefit of India may be looked for from its realisation. I am confident, too, that the Governor-General, whoever he may be, will, at all times, in the Central as in the provincial sphere, be ready to give the fullest weight to all relevant considerations; that he will be anxious to help those who are ready to take advantage of any assistance which he may be able to give them; and that he will be ready to approach the problems of the Centre (and I fully recognise how they differ from the problems in the provincial field) with detachment, openness, and a sincere anxiety to reach the solution best in the interests of India. In these matters the spirit is of more concern than the letter; and that consideration is one that must at all times be present to those on whom falls the responsibility for government in this country.

Mr. President, I listened with great interest to your remarks about the Indian States, and I welcome the opportunity that you give me of saying a word about the States in their relation to Federation. The States are as essential an element in a Federation of India as are the Provinces of British India. The unity of India is as dear a thing to them as it is to British India. It was with distinguished leaders of the States that the Federal ideal in its present form originated ; and their contribution to the elaboration of the federal ideal has in the past been material. The decision as to their further contribution must be for them and for them alone to make. No pressure to take a decision in a particular sense will be brought upon the Rulers of the Indian States by His Majesty's Government or by me. Indeed, this matter has throughout been approached with full appreciation of the responsibility which falls upon the individual Ruler who has to take a decision of such momentous consequence to his dynasty and his State. We have done all that lay in our power to apply a just judgment to the points which have been raised by individual States in connection with their accession to Federation and to find the wise and appropriate solution of those points ; and we have, at all times, kept before us the ideal of the unity of India.

The decision whether or not to accede to the Federation of India falls to be taken at a time when the minds of many Rulers are preoccupied with the question of determining the extent to which ideas germinated in different conditions, and arising from wholly different circumstances, are capable of assimilation with the background of their traditions and responsibilities. I realise the difficulty of that problem—none the less great because, while the advice and assistance of the Paramount Power is always available to Rulers, it must rest with Rulers themselves to decide what form of Government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States. And, as the Secretary of State has again made clear in the last few days, while the Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers, His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes. I need not remind you of the close and active interest which so many Rulers have already displayed in this question. But in a field in which, for historical and other reasons, such wide differences in conditions exist, generalizations are dangerous and misleading. The nature of any internal adjustment, the checks and balances appropriately to be applied, cannot wisely in all circumstances be the same, and the fullest weight must be given to all relevant factors by those on whom the responsibility directly falls. But, gentlemen, let us make no mistake about this : if Federation is not to fall short of the high ideal which it has so far constituted, if it is to be a real Federation of all-India, then the collaboration and the participation of the Indian States, and of the tradition they stand for, are essential.

Gentlemen, I have kept you too long and only the importance of this issue is my excuse. It has been my object to reaffirm to you my own faith in the federal ideal : and the importance that in my judgment attaches to its early realisation. Provincial Autonomy and

its working have in a sense been a touch-stone. I claim that we are entitled, in the light of the working of Provincial Autonomy, to be of good heart when we contemplate the working of Federation. Provincial Autonomy and Federation, essentially and intrinsically parts one of the other, represent a great decision, all the more significant when outlined against the background of world politics. That background is more sombre by far in 1938 than it was in 1935. But the darkening of the background, the emphasis on totalitarian ideologies, have made no difference to the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards Indian constitutional advance. Their policy is unchanged, they remain of opinion that in the interests of India as a whole as well as from the point of view of individual units whether States or Provinces, the ideal embodied in the Act is that best calculated to achieve results of real and permanent value alike to India and to the component parts of the Federation.

Mr. President, you referred in your remarks to the appeal which I made when I addressed you a year ago—an appeal for goodwill and patience, for their response to which I am profoundly grateful to your Members. Today I would make another appeal—an appeal to India for collaboration, and I would make that appeal even to those who may sincerely doubt the value of the federal scheme, for I am confident that experience will justify my own profound belief in it. I would make an appeal for trust—trust in the sincerity of those by whom the scheme has been devised, trust in the goodwill and the good faith of those by whom it falls to be carried out. I would make an appeal, finally, for patience and for a realisation of the difficulties of others; and I would ask again that, in considering the problems, whether of individuals or of units, the fullest weight be given to all the attendant circumstances. The responsibility to India of all of us who have it in our power to make any contribution to the achievement of the Federal ideal is heavy and immediate, and it is no light reassurance to me, gentlemen, to feel that in whatever effort I may make to bring it into being without delay, I have your goodwill, and your understanding sympathy and support.”

34. FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH

Jan. 3,
1939

To supplement and co-ordinate, and not to supplant the work of the Provincial Departments, would be the concern of the technological laboratories of the Indian Central Jute Committee set up to provide facilities for research of a fundamental character in several aspects of jute production, marketing and manufacture. Extract from Lord Linlithgow's speech at the opening of the Laboratories at Calcutta on January 3, 1939 :

“Let me at once tell you how great a pleasure it is to me to be present among you today in order to inaugurate the technological laboratories of the Central Jute Committee. It is 11 years since my colleagues and I of the Agricultural Commission signed the report in which we recommended the setting up of a Central Jute Committee. Since that time the experiences of the grower, the manufacturer and the exporter have, as I think you will agree, been such as substantially to strengthen

the case for the active prosecution of research—agricultural, technical, and commercial—in connexion with this most important crop.

You, Sir Bryce, have paid a well-merited tribute to the work, over many years, of the Bengal Department of Agriculture in the direction of improving the production of jute, and in that connexion you have mentioned the importance of securing that a higher crop yield may not be attained at the cost of a fall in the quality of the fibre. To my mind, it is the great merit of the plan of research laid down by the Indian Central Jute Committee that that plan envisages continuous research over every stage of production, marketing and manufacture, from the seed available to the cultivator to the preparation of the finished article, and also the provision of an improved service of statistics and information.

Throughout the range of its activities, the committee will be concerned at all points, not to supplant, but to supplement and co-ordinate, the work of the Provincial Departments and of the Research Institute of the Indian Jute Mills Association. The co-ordination in research and planning thus secured will, I am persuaded, go far to secure that, in the formation of schemes for improvement in any stage or process, due regard will be had to their relation to the industry as a whole.

I do not doubt that among the many factors which make for prosperity, proper weight will be given to the extreme importance of securing a fair return to the cultivator, whose activities must continue to constitute the foundation upon which rests the whole fabric of this highly important industry."

35. TWO WEST COAST STATES

(i) Lovely Cochin

A tribute to the progressive administration of Cochin was paid by Lord Linlithgow at the State Banquet at the Maharaja's capital on January 7, 1939. His Excellency also referred to the development of "the great Cochin Harbour," the "finest in the east", and to the natural beauty of the State. Extracts:—

"... You know how great and real a pleasure it is to us to meet Your Highness again, this time in your own State and in your own capital, and you know, too, I think, how much we have looked forward to our visit to Cochin and to seeing for the first time your lovely State. I know how widely Your Highness has travelled, but I feel sure that there must be few places which you have seen in the course even of travels so wide as yours which can claim a greater degree of natural beauty or a more attractive setting than Your Highness's own State.

The advanced condition of Cochin today: the high degree of literacy and of education of its peoples; the progressive character of its administration, directly reflect the close and immediate interest

taken by Your Highness and your predecessors on the *gadi* in everything calculated to be of importance to your subjects. Your own close and intimate knowledge of all parts of the State, and the first hand knowledge which your extensive touring has given you, has made you well aware of their needs and requirements ; and I well know how concerned Your Highness has always been to apply the knowledge and experience which your travels whether inside or outside of your State has given you in the administration and for the benefit of Cochin.

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the great Cochin Harbour. It must be a source of keen satisfaction to you that your State should contain a harbour which is, as you say, one of the finest in the east, and the creation of which is of such importance from the point of view of the trade and commerce of Cochin and of India as a whole. I gratefully acknowledge the kind expressions which Your Highness has used as to the assistance which my Government have been able to give you in connection with the development of your port, and you may be confident that I will not fail to watch the course of its future development with close interest. . . .

I warmly welcome the assurance Your Highness has been so kind as to give me in your speech of your ready co-operation in the task that lies before me of the completion of the scheme envisaged by the Government of India Act, and the inauguration of the Federation of India. I do not propose tonight to discuss in any detail the question of Federation. Your Highness and your Government have throughout taken a helpful and constructive attitude in regard to the Federal scheme, and Your Highness is well aware of my views on it. But I would like, if I may, to associate myself to the fullest with Your Highness's remarks as to the fundamental unity of India. That unity, so precious to all who love India, is, I am sure, an ideal that can in no way better be furthered than by completion of the federal scheme ; and I ventured in remarks which I recently made elsewhere to emphasise the extreme importance of maintaining and consolidating that unity, more particularly in the conditions of the present time. Your Highness is right in thinking that the moment has come when, in your own words, unity even in the political sphere can be achieved for this great country, and I am sure that you are right, too, in your feeling that that unity of India as a whole can be achieved consistently with the safeguarding of the interests of its component parts. . . ."

(ii) Travancore's Record

Jan. 10, 1939 *Extracts from speech at the State banquet at Trivandrum on January 10, 1939 :*

"It is now half a century since a Legislative Council was first established in Travancore, and I listened with the greatest interest to the review which Your Highness has given us of the developments in the powers and the field of operation of your Legislative bodies. I note your arrangements to enable the Assembly to exercise effective financial control. I note also the method of preparation of the budget,

and of its presentation to both Houses of the Legislature, and the arrangements you have made for the scrutiny of the annual audit and appropriation accounts of the State by a Public Accounts Committee elected by the Legislature itself. I am glad to think that the legislative activity of the two Houses should be as marked as you tell me that it has been, and I welcome the steps which I understand from you they have taken in the field of labour legislation.

In appointing a Public Service Commissioner, Your Highness has taken a step the importance of which the Joint Select Committee and Parliament have both emphasized in the case of British India; and I note with interest the arrangements you have made for the recruitment of candidates for the various grades in the Civil Service and for the standardisation of the salaries of Government servants. I note, too, the steps taken by Your Highness and your Government to safeguard the position of the backward communities, to widen the basis of recruitment to the Army, and (and to this I attach great importance) to relieve the burden of agricultural indebtedness. I note with much interest that the effect of the Regulation which fixes the relation of landlord and tenant in Travancore is to give the tenant permanency of tenure and fixity of rights. I trust sincerely that the distress prevailing among agriculturists in Travancore, which I hear with great regret has been so acute, may look to be alleviated and reduced. The establishment of a Board of Agriculture, the appointment of Marketing Officers, the appreciation which you have shown of the necessity for intensive agricultural research and activity, are all indicative of the close concern with which Your Highness watches the agricultural problem—a problem of such vital importance in India today.

I share your hope that the scheme for the development of Hydro-electric power in the State will, as you say, give a stimulus to industry, and I am sure that you are right in the emphasis you lay on the importance of the promotion of cottage industries to the future of Travancore. Travancore has great natural resources, and the well thought out scheme for their development, the outlines of which Your Highness has sketched, tonight, will, I trust, produce results of real and lasting benefit to your State. I was struck in particular by the progressive character of the scheme which you tell me that you have in contemplation of the exploitation, by means of careful planning, of the great forest wealth of your State.

This is indeed, as Your Highness has remarked, a period of crucial importance in the history of this country as of the world as a whole. And I welcome the assurance which you give me of the readiness of your ancient State to play its due and adequate part in that co-operation between the Indian States and the Paramount Power, the importance of which you have so rightly underlined. I listened with great pleasure to the tribute which you have paid to the work of my Resident. I am glad indeed to think that relations between your State and my Representative should be of so friendly and harmonious a character."

36. "ADMIRABLY GOVERNED STATE"

Jan. 13,
1939

Extract from speech at the State Banquet at Mysore on January 13, 1939 :

"Twelve years ago I paid a brief visit to Bangalore, but this is the first opportunity that we have had since I came to India as Viceroy, of seeing Your Highness's State. I have been here less than one day, but I can already say that the reports of Mysore's beauty are in no way exaggerated and I have already been able, to gauge something of the activities of Your Highness's Government in the development of agriculture and industry and the improvement of public health. On my drive round Bangalore I saw the results of intelligent town-planning upon a residential quarter, a modern maternity hospital, and most worthy memorial in the Technological Institute of Your Highness's Silver Jubilee. Bangalore is already the eighth largest city in India. It is a rapidly growing city, and I can see that it is growing on the right lines.

I am glad to notice however that the fast developing Mysore Industries are being placed in different centres in the State, so that they may be more closely linked with the countryside, and so that the economic benefits derived from them may more directly profit the countryman. Today in Mandya I saw how your sugar industry has brought wealth to the agriculturist and I can well believe how proud Your Highness must feel when you pass through a countryside where the earning capacity of the people has been so materially improved.

I have crowded much into this one day, and I must give my special thanks to Your Highness for the exhibition of Rural Health and Welfare that was arranged for me at Closepet. The Health Training Centre, organized in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation, is a most interesting experiment. It is only by intensive practical work in a limited area that one can learn the most effective means of improving the health and welfare of the Indian villager. This centre should be a most valuable guide to the development of public health work not only in the Mysore State but in many parts of India.

The last part of my journey today was when I drove with Your Highness through the streets of your capital. The City of Mysore is remarkable not only for the beauty of its streets and buildings, but also for the development of institutions for the care of the sick and especially the care of those suffering from the terrible disease of tuberculosis. Your Highness has told us of your great interest in the fight against this disease which we are now waging throughout India, and we know that the Mysore State has devoted special attention to this work. My wife and I are happy to be in a city where so much is done to fight this disease, and she looks forward with great interest to visiting tomorrow the tuberculosis institutions, especially the Sanatorium founded in memory of Your Highness's sister, the finest memorial that any one could desire.

So much I have seen today, and I regret that time does not permit me to see more of the developments in the State which spring

from Your Highness's unremitting labour throughout your long rule. I have however had the opportunity of reading something of the developments in Agriculture, Industry, the Medical and Public Health Services and Hydro-Electric Power Supply. I am particularly interested in the developments in agriculture since I visited the State as Chairman of the Royal Commission and I can see that your Agricultural Department has been able to bring about a real improvement especially in the types of paddy, sugar and cotton grown and in the quality of the Mysore cattle. Your Highness is fortunate in ruling over a State possessed of great natural resources, and wise in your policy of utilising those resources to the full. The progress of electrification in Mysore is remarkable, and when the two new projects at Shimsha and Gersoppa are completed there will be a cheap supply of electricity available throughout the State.

When we leave Mysore we shall take away with us the picture of a City of great natural beauty embellished by Your Highness's care, and of an admirably governed State the great natural resources of which have been developed by Your Highness's devoted labours of over forty years for the prosperity and happiness of your people."

37. DESCENDANTS OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT

Extract from speech at the State Banquet at Kolhapur on January 18, 1939 :— Jan. 18,
1939

"I have looked forward with keen interest to my visit to Kolhapur, the Premier State of this Agency, whose Ruler is the direct descendant of Shivaji the Great, founder of the Mahratta Empire, and I am the more happy to be here today given the cordial relations which have so long existed between Your Highness's State and my Government. It is a source of profound satisfaction to me to give expression in person to the confidence I feel that the future will see no diminution in the intimacy and cordiality of those relations.

The loyal support and the co-operation so readily afforded by His late Highness in the critical years of the Great War have found an echo in the spontaneous and generous gesture made by Your Highness during the recent crisis in placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's command—a gesture, I can assure Your Highness, most deeply valued and appreciated.

I have listened with close interest to the record of progress made in the State during recent years. That record is one which covers a wide field of achievement; it would be difficult indeed to suggest any sphere of activity which has escaped Your Highness's notice, and you may well be proud of the progress which Kolhapur has made in so many directions since Your Highness succeeded to the *gaddi*. But I might perhaps pay a special tribute to the development of hydro-electric power; and to the provision which you contemplate of a pure water supply, and an efficient drainage system—measures of the utmost importance to the health alike of town and village;

while the steps which Your Highness has taken to introduce and encourage improved methods of agriculture cannot but be of great and growing assistance to your subjects.

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the fine tradition of service for their people of the Ruling House of Kolhapur ; and you added that the changing conditions of the times carry with them additional obligations. I feel confident that under Your Highness's inspiration and your guidance these obligations will be discharged to the full, and I am confident too that the policy of Your Highness and your Government will continue to be marked by the same wisdom and foresight in this as in other respects.

I have been greatly interested in this connection to hear that a form of Local Self-Government based on a Panchayat System has been in force in Kolhapur since so long ago as 1926 ; and that the Illakha Panchayat should have discharged so successfully the purposes which it was created to serve. I need not say how earnestly I trust that the steps which Your Highness tells me that you now have in contemplation for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in your State will be attended with no less success.

I would like, too, most warmly to commend Your Highness's decision to create a High Court in your State. Its creation cannot but result in increased confidence in the Judiciary generally, and it emphasises, if that were necessary, Your Highness's anxiety to maintain this most important branch of State Administration at a high level.

I am very glad to hear from Your Highness of the cordial relations prevailing between your Government and your Feudatory Jagirdars : I have every confidence that Your Highness will do all in your power to see that this cordial relationship is maintained.

I can well believe that Your Highness's efforts towards the advancement of the State and the welfare of your people have won, and will continue to preserve, the loyalty and affection of Kolhapur ; you may be certain that I shall continue to watch with close and sympathetic interest the developments of Your Highness's policy in these respects.

Your Highness has touched in your speech on the all-important question of Federation. I am most grateful to you for the kind reference which you made to my recent speech on that subject, and I much appreciate your readiness to consider the final draft of the Instrument of Accession with a desire, in your own words, to render the fullest co-operation in the achievement of the Federal ideal. In the remarks Your Highness has made as regards the importance of achieving the political unity of India, you have, I am sure, the support of all thinking men.

I listened with the utmost pleasure to the generous tribute which Your Highness has paid to the advice and assistance which you have received from the Political Officers with whom you have been associated. I need not assure you that that advice and assistance is at all times at the disposal of Your Highness in the fullest degree ;

and it affords me great satisfaction to take note of the intimate and friendly relations which have prevailed, and which I sincerely trust and believe will continue to prevail, between Your Highness and the Political Officers accredited to your State.

Lady Linlithgow asks me to thank Your Highness most warmly for the remarks which you have been kind enough to make about her Appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's Fund. The urgency of the need which the Fund is designed to meet calls for no emphasis by me but I would like to say with how great a satisfaction I have noticed the generous response which has been made to the Appeal, and how greatly both my wife and I appreciate the generous donation of Kolhapur. The two Sanatoria for affording relief to sufferers from tuberculosis which already exist in your State show clearly that the interest of Your Highness and your Government in this vital problem is no new thing."

38. INDUSTRIAL ADVANCEMENT

Lord Linlithgow commends the growing realisation that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the provinces is essential if India as a whole is to advance industrially. His Excellency remarks that he is as much alive to the importance of industrial advancement as of agricultural advancement. Extracts from speech at the 10th Industries Conference at Bombay on January 23, 1939:

Jan. 23,
1939

"There may have been misgivings lest my preoccupation with agricultural matters should result in less than a due appreciation of the importance of the development of Indian Industries. It was partly in the hope that I might be able to dispel any such misgivings that I welcomed the opportunity to open your proceedings today.

There is no doubt in my mind that conditions today in the world at large make it more necessary than ever before that India should attain a certain balance in her agricultural and industrial economy. The goal of self-sufficiency which is being pursued by many foreign countries is not one that is in my judgment suitable for India, but the falling off in the demand for India's raw products, which is one of its symptoms, imposes on us, precisely in the interests of the agricultural classes, the duty of making a fuller use of those raw products ourselves . . .

I must commend your choice of the actual meeting place in this city, the University Senate Hall, which I hope is symptomatic of the closer co-operation in which it is desirable that Industry and the University should work.

I am happy, too, to see so many representatives of the Indian States taking part in your Conference. It is a recognition of the close interaction, in the industrial as in many other spheres of public activity of the problems, and interests of British India and of the Indian States. The solution of common problems cannot but be

facilitated by increased opportunities for formal consultation and co-operative effort.

The Industries Conference is now an annual institution, but I notice that although this is the Tenth Industries Conference, it is over eighteen years ago since the first of the series was held at Simla, in April 1920. In view of the somewhat different scope and composition of that Conference from the Conference which we are inaugurating today, it is perhaps desirable to indicate briefly the circumstances which have brought about the change.

Twenty years ago, the Indian Industrial Commission, appointed during and to a great extent owing to, the stress of the Great War had just issued its Report.

Its ambitious proposals for a great advance in industrialisation depended on the acceptance of two principles.

The first was that Government ought to take an active part in the industrial development of the country with the aim of making India more self-contained in men and material.

The second was that it was impossible for Government to undertake that part unless they were provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable and technical advice. It was to the Central Government that the Commission assigned the main responsibility for further industrial advance, and to this end one of their main recommendations was the formation of an All-India Industrial Service of specialists and technical experts, who would largely have been seconded for service under provincial Directors of Industries, by whom, under the general control of local Governments, the actual administrative work would have been carried on.

But about the time when the Indian Industrial Commission made its Report, far-reaching constitutional changes were under contemplation, changes which had not been envisaged by the Commission, and which were to render substantial parts of their scheme impracticable. By the time the First Industries Conference met in 1920, it was already known that "Industries" was to be a provincial transferred subject, to be controlled and administered by ministers.

The Conference, therefore, although it consisted entirely of officials, concerned itself mainly with details of the organization of the growing provincial departments of industries, and little was done in the way of co-ordination of effort. At the Conference held in April, 1921, the new provincial Ministers for Industries were present for the first time. At this and at the next following Conference, there manifested itself a certain apprehension lest co-ordination and attempts at unified effort might mean interference: and though it was primarily as a measure of retrenchment that these Conferences were abandoned in 1923, there is I think no doubt that a contributory cause was what I may for want of a better word refer to as the separatist tendency of individual provinces, who for the most part had ceased to attach any great importance to co-ordination in this field.

Fortunately this tendency, the strength of which I have no desire to exaggerate, did not last long and certainly does not persist today.

For it was at the request of the Provincial Governments themselves that these annual Conferences were revived in 1933. Indeed, what I notice now-a-days is something very different from any apprehension that the Central Government may encroach upon the legitimate sphere of provincial activities. It is rather a certain exasperation at the inability of the Central Government to exercise in certain directions powers which were long ago taken away from the Central Government and handed over to provincial ministers.

This seems to me to be a perfectly natural outcome of the growing realization that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the provinces is essential if India as a whole is to advance or even to maintain the position that in certain industries she has already won. From time to time fissiparous tendencies show themselves, and though we can hardly hope to see complete identity of views established through the machinery of these conferences, it is none the less along the lines of such free and frank discussion of common problems as is here possible that a solution is to be sought.

What part, however, is there still left for the Central Government to play in the future industrial development of the country?

An examination of what has already been done will perhaps shed some light on this. I have already indicated the circumstances in which it was not possible that the Central Government should put in operation the scheme drawn up by the Indian Industrial Commission. Looking back on that scheme, the part that I am most inclined to regret was the abandonment of the scheme for an All-India Industrial Service. If that recommendation could have been given effect to, there would have been in existence today a central pool of industrial experts on which the provinces could have drawn to man their departments, and I feel sure that the existence of such a body of trained men would have been felt today by many provincial ministers to constitute a very material reserve of highly qualified expert advice of which they could if they so wished avail themselves.

Nevertheless the Central Government has been enabled to play a role, different indeed from that envisaged by the Commission, but one which has exercised a notable influence on the development of Indian industries.

By their control of Tariffs, and in pursuance of the policy of discriminating protection which was accepted as the result of the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission, many great industries—steel, cotton textiles, paper, sugar—have been built up. By their Stores Purchase policy, under which a definite preference is shown by Government, in their purchases undertaken to meet the needs of the public services, to articles of indigenous manufacture, Government have done much to assist many large and small Indian Industries.

The extent of these purchases is not perhaps as widely realised as it should be. During the ten years from 1928-29 to 1937-38 articles wholly or partially manufactured in India were purchased for Government to the extent of twenty-three crores of rupees.

The Indian Stores Department exercises constant vigilance to prevent the purchase from abroad of articles which can equally well be obtained in India, and has succeeded in diverting to indigenous sources of supply many demands which can be met from Indian markets, but which might otherwise have been filled from elsewhere.

Again, the action taken on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has demonstrated in a striking way the advantages to the provinces of the co-ordination of research and guidance undertaken by the Central Government, and this example has been followed, though not perhaps to the full extent that some of you may have desired, in the industrial field.

The co-ordination of provincial efforts which is effected by your Conference has been emphasized by the establishment of the Industrial Research Bureau, the Industrial Research Council and the Imperial Sericulture Committee, and by the grants given to the Handloom, Woollen and Sericulture Industries.

Last year Government took the decision to place the Industrial Research Bureau on a permanent footing. Owing to the deterioration of the general financial position during the current year, my Government have felt compelled to re-examine that decision, but I am glad to be able to announce that it has been decided to maintain it.

Similarly, I am glad to say that it has been provisionally decided to continue for another financial year (1939-40) the handloom grant which was due under the original scheme to expire next October.

In the legislative field, measures recently passed by the Central Legislature such as the Companies Act and the Insurance Act, cannot but have a far-reaching effect of a beneficial nature on industrial development.

And there are other measures on the anvil such as the Patents Bill, which proposes to penalize the pirating of designs; a Bill to facilitate the registration of Trade Marks in India; the revision of the Law of Merchandise Marks; and a Bill which will enable the Central Government to prescribe a uniform standard of weights. All these legislative activities will help to create an environment in which industry can flourish.

I have perhaps said enough to indicate that the Central Government has, within the limits of the constitution, played its due part in the development of Indian industries.

It will not have escaped your notice that when the scheme of government contemplated by the Government of India Act has been brought into full operation, the responsibility for the development of those industries where development under federal control is expedient in the public interest will remain with the federal government. Quite apart from this, however, there is a large and fruitful field for co-operation and discussion in industrial matters between provinces and States *inter se*, and between them and the Central Government.

I have studied your agenda with much interest. I am glad to see the important place occupied in it by the development of small and cottage industries. To my mind the supplementing not only of the earnings, but of the healthy human interests, of the rural population is more bound up with the development of small subsidiary industries than with that of large-scale industries. I notice that the Hon'ble Minister for Industries in Madras, whom I had hoped to have seen here today, laid stress on this point in a recent speech, and that he estimated that big industries could not feed more than ten million people in India.

I am also glad to see that you propose to consider how the service of Indian Trade Commissioners abroad can best be utilized to diffuse the kind of information you require. There has, as you know, been a great expansion of this service during the last five years, and it is the desire of my Government that their services should be enlisted to the fullest possible extent in the expansion of Indian industry and trade.

It is no doubt possible that the discussion of certain items of your agenda may disclose marked divergences in the view-point of different provinces. But it is essential to the success of the free and democratic institutions which we are building up in India that there should be frank and cordial exchange of opinions with a view to reaching agreed solutions, and I do not know that there is any field in which this is more important than that of Industry. At a time when such free discussion of difficulties has drawn us back from the brink of a world war, but when the menace to freedom and democracy has by no means disappeared, it is on this note that I leave you to your deliberations."

39. A FRANK REPLY TO A FRANK ADDRESS

The opportunity provided by the "very outspoken" address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay on January 23, 1939, was availed of by Lord Linlithgow to deal in some detail and with equal frankness with several issues of very great importance. Text of reply :—

Jan. 23,
1939

"I am glad to see you here today, and I thank you on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself for the welcome you have given us to Bombay.

I listened to your address with the interest and the attention which it deserves. You mentioned in your opening remarks that you were anxious to put me frankly in possession of your views on some of the live commercial and industrial problems of the day ; and you expressed the hope that I would seek such solution of the problems on which you touched as would conduce to the best interests of India in general and of those concerned in industries in particular.

You are in my judgment right in suggesting that the criterion to be applied in considering the answer to the many difficult and controversial problems which you have raised should be the best interests of the country in general. I could wish that, on the question of what line of action was likely to be most conducive to the achievement of

that end, our views more nearly approximated. But you have given me an opportunity, in your very full, and, I may say, very outspoken, address to deal in some little detail with a number of issues of very great importance, not only to India generally, but to those commercial and industrial interests for which you speak. I will endeavour in the short time that is available to us this morning to deal, with such particularity as is practicable, with the position in regard to those issues, and to reciprocate the frankness with which you have set your view of the case before me—a frankness which I in no way misunderstand.

You have placed in the forefront of your remarks the question of the Rupee Ratio ; and I think that it would be appropriate that I should touch on this most important question in the first place.

You will, I am sure, not misunderstand me if I at once make plain that I find myself quite unable to accept your observations upon the history of this matter as an objective statement of the facts of this complicated question. While I may tell you that my own view, formed after close study of the question, is as definite as that conveyed in your address, it does not appear to me that any analysis of past history is likely today to assist us in appraising the practical issues with which we are faced. Let us then agree to differ as to the past history, while we proceed to concentrate rather on the practical aspects, which must appeal to you, as business men, and on the merits of the position.

The vital importance of the exchange issue makes it in no way surprising that for many years past its prominence should have been so great. It is an issue, as you with your great experience, realise as fully as I do, extremely technical in character. It is not an issue that can be considered in isolation, or in terms of a single country only.

The history of the 20 years that have elapsed since the end of the Great War makes clear beyond any possibility of doubt the international ramifications of the currency question ; and emphasize the essential necessity of taking no step in regard to it save after the fullest consideration, and the fullest weighing, from every point of view, of the repercussions of action in a particular sense.

The history of world currency over this period has very clearly shown the uncharted reefs that confront those who endeavour to sail in these dangerous and difficult waters. That is a factor that has continually been present to me and to my Government in shaping our policy ; for we carry a very great responsibility to the people of India—a responsibility that we are bound to discharge without fear or affection, without consideration of the temporary reaction on any one interest or group of the adoption of a particular course, and with the object solely of ensuring on a long view the true and best interest of the Indian tax-payer and the Indian cultivator.

Those being the considerations that have weighed with us in the past, and that weigh with us today, in the formulation and the conduct of our currency policy, I can assure you that in the decisions my Government have taken, and in the policy that we are maintaining, we have failed to take into account no material factor.

Nor in reaching our conclusions have we done so without the most careful weighing of every relevant consideration, whether in India or outside India.

Those conclusions, which we have again publicly stated in the last few days, are based on the widest experience and the best advice that could be obtained ; and, speaking myself with a strong sense of the responsibility which rests upon me personally and upon my Government, I have no hesitation in saying that the policy to which we are working is the only one which could, on the picture as we see it, properly have been adopted by us, having regard to the necessity for giving full weight to the interests of all classes and sections in this country, and for planning on a long-term basis.

I would be unfair to you if I did not, with the same frankness which you yourselves have adopted in your Address today, tell you that my Government have, as they recently made clear no intention of allowing the lowering of the present exchange value of the Rupee ; that they intend to defend it by every means in their power ; and that they are confident (a fact the significance of which will, of course, be present to you as representatives of great commercial interests) of their entire ability to maintain it.

I know that misunderstandings exist as to the effect of our present exchange policy. In a communiqué recently issued, which expressed the views of the Government of India, an endeavour was made to deal with certain of these misunderstandings. I will not trespass on your patience by reiterating all the points which the recent statement of my Government was designed to underline.

There is, however, one point which is of particular and close interest to me personally—the effect of the present ratio on the agriculturist.

I am satisfied that there is no foundation for the suggestion that the maintenance of the ratio has been disadvantageous to the agriculturist. I am satisfied, indeed, that to lower the ratio in the market conditions, internationally, of the present day, would result in no rise that matters in what the cultivator can realise for his produce ; that it would immediately and sharply increase the cost of what he buys ; and that its effect on the budgetary position of the Centre and of the provinces could not but be of a character which would injuriously affect the taxpayer, whether urban or agricultural.

In face of considerations of this nature—considerations, I repeat, our conclusions in regard to which have been reached only after the most careful and prolonged examination—you will not I know be surprised that our policy is the policy which I have described to you. But I trust sincerely that, having heard my exposition of the care with which we have examined the whole position before reaching our conclusion, and the pains at which we have been to give weight to every conceivable factor, you will believe that that decision has not been lightly taken, or taken on any basis other than that of the true interest of the taxpayer, of the cultivator, and of the industrial and commercial interests of India.

I have listened with interest to your suggestion that the time has come for Government to abandon the policy of discriminating protection in favour, in your own words, of a policy of full fledged protection.

The fiscal policy of Government in respect of India's industries is, as you are well aware, based on the principles laid down in the Resolution adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 16th February 1923.

This policy has been in operation for well over a decade, and the experience gained of its working during that period appears to me to confirm the soundness of the principles on which it is founded.

I am aware that divergent views exist as to the effect of that policy on the pace and extent of industrial development. But the results of the policy in its application to particular industries, the Iron and Steel, the Cotton Textile, and the Sugar industries, to name only a few, have been sufficiently impressive to justify the conclusion that further progress should be sought along lines so well tested in the past rather than in a fundamental departure from the principles which have hitherto guided Government's fiscal policy.

You will, I am sure, agree with me that it is of supreme importance in a predominantly agricultural country such as India to ensure that no undue burden shall be imposed on the community as a whole as a result of a policy of protection. Avoidance of such undue burden on the general mass of consumers is of the essence of the policy of discriminating protection, and any deviation from this principle could not fail to have a most injurious reaction upon the condition of the agricultural classes, the protection of whose interests is, I am sure, both on general grounds and because of the direct and immediate reaction of the prosperity or poverty of those classes on trade and industry, a matter of as deep concern to your Chamber as it is to Government.

That is the position in its most general terms. You will share my view that a great deal has been done in the way of protection ; and I have urged that we should be wise to continue to follow the path which has hitherto given us good results rather than to embark on new and more hazardous experiments.

I think it is fair, too, in considering this issue of protection, the importance of which I fully recognise, to bear in mind that one effect of its adoption has been to turn a highly elastic revenue system into an inelastic one in which the law of diminishing returns is already strongly in operation.

A consideration of a quite different character, and one that is, I know, present to you is the probability, indeed the certainty, if the demand for high protective tariffs were conceded, that foreigners would take advantage of those tariffs by establishing factories here ; and that cannot be regarded from the point of view of those who are most anxious for an increased degree of protection as a factor to be treated lightly.

Speaking, however, to an audience of your great experience in the commercial world, I think that I might not inappropriately before I

pass from this subject remind you (though I am sure that that consideration is one to which you are alive) of the heavy burden on the consumer, with no corresponding increase of revenue to the Exchequer, involved in a high protective duty.

I do not indeed think that I should be very far off the mark if I were to estimate the real burden of the customs tariff as about double the amount of revenue it yields ; or, to put it in a different form, to suggest that the burden of that part of the tariff which is in fact protective is, as I speak to you today, of the order of 40 crores a year. I would ask you to bear in mind the magnitude of this sum in relation to the burden which the taxpayer shoulders for the defence of the country.

This brings me to the question of Military expenditure, a question, I imagine, throughout the world today of profound concern to every taxpayer and to every Chancellor of the Exchequer. I agree with you in regarding the 45 crores spent annually on Defence by India as a heavy burden.

And yet I am able today to point to the fact that India is the only large country in the world in which Defence expenditure during the last fifteen years not only has not been increased, but has undergone a decisive reduction. I might perhaps remind you that in 1922 Defence estimates were 65½ crores. Last year they were between 45 and 46 crores. Defence expenditure has indeed been progressively reduced, and that despite the altered position of the international situation, to a point at which, as you recognize yourself in the remarks you have just addressed to me, a further reduction cannot safely be made.

I wholly agree with what you say as to the desirability and the importance of the training of Indians for the defence of their country ; and no inconsiderable part of the Army is now under the process of Indianisation.

I would like, however, to take this opportunity to draw attention to the fact that some difficulty is being experienced in finding suitable candidates for the number of vacancies offered. Indeed, the numbers presenting themselves at the half-yearly examination are comparatively small and have been steadily declining. In the case of the Indian Navy equally, there has been a shortage of qualified candidates for Commissions.

The question of how to secure a better flow of candidates for the Defence Services is under active consideration, but I fear that today there can be no question that supply is hardly equal to demand—a consideration of very direct relevance to the general principle of Indianisation. Finally, it is to be remembered that the Military field is one in which long training and experience are necessary, and in which the policy we are pursuing can come to full fruition only over a period of years. It would, in my judgment, be false economy to take the risks involved in sacrificing soundness and dependability to haste.

I should like to assure you of my full sympathy with the hopes you have expressed for the continued growth and progress of the Indian mercantile marine.

I need not recall to you the measures taken by my Government in different spheres of action in pursuance of their declared policy of assisting in the participation of Indian-owned shipping in India's trade and of organizing facilities for the training of Indians for a sea career. It has been their constant endeavour, by the method of peaceful discussion and negotiation, to promote the full co-operation of all the interests concerned in the solution of their differences, and largely through their efforts important advantages have been secured in the past for Indian shipping concerns. You may rest assured that they will continue to use their good offices and their influence in furtherance of an object the importance of which they so fully realise.

You mentioned in the course of your remarks, that in the judgment of your Chamber those sections of the Government of India Act which aim at the prevention of commercial discrimination placed India at a very material disadvantage; and from comment in the Press and on the public platform I realize that this is an issue which attracts wide attention in many quarters. But you are familiar with the long course of argument and discussion at the Round Table Conferences, before the Joint Select Committee, and in Parliament, which preceded the incorporation of these sections in the Act, and it would be disingenuous of me to hold out any hope that the question will be held under early review.

You have expressed your concern at the delay in the conclusion of the negotiations for a new Trade Agreement with the United Kingdom.

I share your regret that the range and complexity of the matters at issue and the importance of the interests, affected, should have had the effect of prolonging the negotiations. But you will have seen the decision of my Government that, whatever the course or outcome of the negotiations, the Ottawa Agreement will not be continued beyond the end of the next Budget Session. You will have seen also the announcement recently made in the Legislative Assembly that any agreement reached will be placed before the Legislature for its opinion before effect is given to it.

I have taken careful note of the other suggestions which you have made in regard to matters of procedure connected with the conclusion of trade agreements, and I can at once assure you that they will receive consideration at the appropriate time.

On one point to which you have alluded—the desirability of such agreements being signed on behalf of the Government of India by their own representatives—I might explain that the position which you have indicated as desirable is that which already obtains in the case of agreements with other Empire countries. Where however the agreement is with a foreign country the constitutional position of India requires that it should be formally signed by representatives of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

You alluded to the effect on the cotton grower, and on the cotton trade generally, of the slump in cotton prices, and you suggested as one step which might be taken to meet the situation a substantial reduction in the railway freight rates for this commodity.

I am aware of the difficulty which faces the cotton-grower, and I need not assure you of my deep sympathy with him. I am also aware of the difference between the pre-war rates and those now in force, the increase in rates having been made at a time when the cost of operation on railways had substantially increased.

Improvements in the conditions of service, particularly in the case of the lower paid employees, have contributed largely to these operating costs; and legislation within recent years affecting labour and designed to secure still further improvements tends to augment the working expenses of Railways, despite every effort for rigid economy.

I cannot agree, I fear, that Railways do not recognise their obligation to assist in the development of the trade of this country. The tariffs of practically all the principal Railways are replete with rate quotations indicating the substantial reductions in the normal freight rates that have been made by individual Railways, to assist in the development of trade and industry.

The reluctance of Railway Administrations to reduce the freight rates for cotton is not due to any disregard for commercial interests. It is due, as I understand it, entirely to the practical consideration that any feasible reduction in these rates would, on the one hand, not result in any increase in traffic, while it would, on the other, almost certainly involve Railways in a loss of revenue approximating to Rs. 1½ crores. I am sure you will recognise that, in these circumstances, the Railways' primary obligation for their financial stability rules out of consideration the substantial reduction which you suggest.

I have made in connection with the Indianisation of the Army the point that it takes time to work up from a very low percentage to a high percentage.

The same considerations apply in respect of the Indianisation of the Civil Services. With the best will in the world, progress must be gradual, though progress has been very considerable indeed. I will not weary you, towards the end of a long speech, with details.

I will only say, to take the Central Services, to the position in regard to which you draw my special attention, that the number of Europeans recruited to Class I of those Central Services to which recruitment is made by the Governor-General-in-Council, during 1935, 1936 and 1937, is 20, 7 and 6 respectively. The number of Indians recruited for the corresponding period is 9, 44 and 56.

The number of Indian officers appointed to the secretariat is bound to increase as time passes and as Indians with the requisite qualifications and of the requisite seniority become available; and while my Government are doing all that they can in this connection, the process is one that must inevitably take time.

I have, I fear, kept you for a long time this morning. But the importance of your address, which I have been so glad to receive, and the necessity of dissipating misconceptions and of making the position clear on the major issues on which you have touched in your address are my excuse. I have not hesitated to deal with the various points that you have mentioned to me in greater detail than I should otherwise have done, because I feel confident that a close examination of them would be welcome to you, and because, even though there are many points on which I have with regret found myself unable to accept your views, I am anxious that you should not be left with any feeling that I have not given them the most careful personal consideration, or that I have not done my best in the short time available to me to set out the position as I see it in regard to the matters to which you have drawn my attention. Let me in conclusion thank you again for the cordial welcome you have given me today, and for your good wishes which I greatly value."

40. RULERS AND SUBJECTS

Feb. 28,
1939

While noting the record of administrative progress in Jaipur State, Lord Linlithgow emphasised the importance of providing opportunities to enable public opinion to express itself.

The stage was now at hand when the Rulers of Indian States should take a decision about accession to Federation. But it was for them to take a decision. Extract from speech at State Banquet at Jaipur on February 28, 1939.

"Your Highness in your speech tonight has traced the record of administrative progress in Jaipur in recent years, and I listened, with close attention, to the account which you have given us of the many and various directions in which you are able to point today to improvement and to advance in the administrative field. These are times in which the establishment and the maintenance in that field of a high standard of efficiency, the removal of legitimate grievances, the maintenance and the encouragement of good relations and good understanding between landlord and tenant, between Ruler and ruled, are more important than ever before; and I am sure that these are considerations that are fully present to Your Highness and to your government.

I have listened with close interest to the arrangements which you have made to promote rural development, and I welcome your intention, despite the hampering effect of existing famine conditions, to endeavour to pursue the policy which has been inaugurated in that respect. My own interest in cattle-breeding, and my strong sense of the real importance of that question make me glad to think that so progressive a policy should under Your Highness's auspices, have been adopted in regard to the improvement of the breed of cattle in Jaipur.

The immense value, in terms of the contentment and the prosperity of your subjects, whatever their class or creed, of a high

level of administrative efficiency is rightly present to Your Highness. The benefit of certain of the schemes which you have mentioned to us tonight can hardly be expected to accrue in its fullness for some years to come. But it must be a cause of profound satisfaction to you that so much should already have been done, and that the basis of that administrative efficiency, which is so vital at the present day, should so early in your rule have been securely laid, and laid on solid and well-devised foundations. I listened with the closest attention to what your Highness was good enough to tell us of the steps you have taken to enable you to ascertain the needs of your people in regard to administrative questions, and to afford them, in your own words, opportunities to bring to the notice of your Government any matters of public concern which, in their opinion, require attention. This is a period when old standards call in many cases for re-examination and adjustment in the light of circumstances, when throughout the world the ebb and flow of changing conditions is marked to a greater degree than has been for many years the case, when in all countries the long view, and long-term planning, have assumed an importance far greater than they have occupied even in the critical years of the post-war period.

In such conditions the importance of providing opportunities to enable public opinion to express itself, and to place on record, for the assistance of those on whom the burden of responsibility falls, the views and the opinions of the ordinary citizen, is far greater than it has been in the past, and in the light of modern requirements it is plainly necessary that there should be some machinery whereby Your Highness can be satisfied that any legitimate wants or grievances of your subjects can be brought to the notice of your Government so that they may be freely and promptly set right. I trust sincerely that the steps which you have taken and which you have mentioned to us tonight, will achieve Your Highness's object of securing the closer association of your subjects with the development of your administration and that, within the framework of the State and of the Constitution, they will give your people the opportunity to bring to the notice of Your Highness and your Government considerations which may be relevant or germane to the decisions which fall to be taken within the area concerned . . .

Your Highness in your speech mentioned the Draft Instrument of Accession which, in common with other Ruling Princes, you have recently received. I welcome the assurance which you give me of the care with which you are considering that important document. My own views on Federation are well known ; and I do not tonight, on an occasion on which topics technical or potentially controversial would be out of place, propose to develop them again. But I might, I think, venture to say that, as Your Highness is well aware, I have never ceased to emphasize the extreme importance, from the point of view of all concerned, which I attach to the early realisation of Federation. For I am certain myself that it is the right and only solution of the difficulties of the present time. I realised fully the intricacy of many of the issues which arise, and, as Your Highness is aware, I have

spared no pains to ensure that they should be elucidated in the fullest detail. But the ground has now been cleared. The long preliminary exploratory process necessary before the Draft Instrument of Accession in its present form could be present to Your Highness and to other Princes for consideration is over, and the point is at hand at which the decision falls to be taken, a decision, as I have more than once made clear, which is for Your Highness and for other Ruling Princes yourselves to make. . . .

I thank you warmly on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for the cordial reference which you have made to the interest which she has taken in the work of combating Tuberculosis; and I should like on her behalf also again to thank Your Highness publicly for the munificent donation given to the King-Emperor's Fund by Your Highness and by your State. I know how close an interest your State has taken in the provision of medical and hospital facilities, and I am glad to think that its contribution in a matter of such direct concern to your subjects should be on so generous a scale. . . ."

41. FUNDAMENTALS OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION

Mar. 1,
1939

The necessity of making arrangements to enable State subjects to bring their legitimate grievances and suggestions to the notice of the administration was stressed by Lord Linlithgow speaking at a State banquet given by His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur on March 1, 1939. Extract from the speech :—

"Your Highness referred in your speech to the inhospitable character of the country in which Jodhpur is situated, but it seems to be very frequently the case that the hardships of Nature produce races of tougher fibre, of greater courage and loyalty and indeed of more generous and hospitable instincts than do countries which have been more favoured. The history of Your Highness's illustrious House and of your State offer a conspicuous example of the truth of this tendency, and there are not wanting many evident proofs of its continued persistence even in the changed conditions of the present. Those adverse natural conditions, as Your Highness has mentioned, are not reflected in any lack of material prosperity. I can indeed congratulate Your Highness very warmly on the material progress to which you can point.

At Jodhpur Your Highness possesses one of the most up-to-date aerodromes in India. It is fitted with electric equipment for night landing and is a main aerodrome on the Trans-India route. It is used regularly by three Trans-India services and in 1937-38 as many as 877 machines landed there. This achievement has been made possible by the great personal interest which Your Highness has always taken in flying. Indeed aviation in India owes a great debt to Your Highness. Yourself a distinguished air pilot, you maintain a Flying Club in Jodhpur and you have always given the most willing assistance to the Royal Air Force. It is therefore with particular pleasure that I am able to announce tonight that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been

pleased to confer on Your Highness the rank of Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force.

Your Highness has rightly pointed out that material advancement is not the sole end of good government, and I have listened with pleasure and appreciation to your views on the aspects (to use your own words) other than material of your policy and your administration. Your Highness has mentioned the religious impartiality of your Government and your concern to give fair treatment to all communities alike. The absence of communal troubles in Jodhpur is due, I would suggest, in no small degree to the confidence and contentment which the application of that policy by Your Highness and Your Highness's Government have inspired.

And if that old fashioned loyalty and reverence for order in Jodhpur to which you have referred remains unshaken, it is not least, I am confident, because Your Highness has shown yourself personally worthy of such loyalty, because of the keen and immediate interest you take in the happiness and progress of your State and its inhabitants, and because the guiding principle of your administration, your own close interest in which I am aware of and applaud, has been the good order of your State and the welfare of your people.

The energetic measures taken by Your Highness's Government to bring relief to the stricken areas in the State which are suffering from a failure in the Monsoon last hot weather are but one example of this. In addition to a large sum set aside for famine relief, I understand that fodder depots have been set up to assist the emigration of cattle in search of pastures ; free grazing is being arranged wherever possible and taccavi is being distributed on a generous scale.

Your Highness mentioned that you were, and that you had been for a long time, fully prepared to take steps to associate your subjects in an increasing measure with your administration in the government of your State. I am aware of the steps Your Highness has taken to that end, details of which you gave us tonight, by establishing Panchayats in villages, Advisory Boards in many districts, and a Central Advisory Board.

It is in these days, as Your Highness clearly appreciates, of vital importance not only that administration should be conducted on sound and up-to-date lines, but that adequate provision should exist for the ventilation of legitimate grievances and for bringing to the notice of the Government of the State the wants and the suggestions of its subjects. The detail of such provision must, of course, vary with circumstances, and it is clear that no rigid uniformity of system can wisely be expected.

The nature, equally, of the arrangements to be made to achieve those objects must be for the decision of the Ruler. I trust sincerely that the system Your Highness has described to us tonight will prove of substantial benefit to your people and will win their appreciation. In wishing all success to Your Highness in your progress towards the goal which you have set before you, I would add only that in these days of stress and change it is of real importance, if arrangements of

this nature are to bear full fruit and to achieve the object you have in view, that their adequacy and the smoothness with which they are running should be under constant scrutiny, so that such adjustments or such changes as practical working may indicate to be desirable or necessary may admit of being made with the minimum of difficulty or friction.

I have listened with attention to Your Highness's remarks on the vital question of Federation, and the objects and the ideals which Federation represents; and I welcome what you tell me of your attitude towards this great question—an attitude all the more significant when we are dealing with a State of the importance and with the historic tradition of Jodhpur. I note too, with satisfaction, Your Highness's claim in this connection that you and your State can point to a level of administration as high as that of the Provinces of British India. The decision as to accession to the Federation of India is one for Your Highness to take, and, neither in the case of Jodhpur nor in the case of any other State, will any pressure in regard to that decision be brought to bear upon a Ruler. I am glad to think that, on the judgment which Your Highness has yourself formed, and to the extent that you feel able at this stage to reach any judgment, Jodhpur has no need to shrink from entering the Federation.

Your Highness's assurances of Jodhpur's loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor rest on more than words. Your Forces played a most distinguished part not only in the Great War, but in the many other campaigns in which their assistance was freely offered to the Empire and gratefully accepted. Your Highness was amongst the first last autumn when a crisis developed which led to the immediate threat of War to offer the assistance of all the resources of your State; and I feel no shadow of doubt that should the need arise, amongst the foremost to help the Empire in its need will be Your Highness and the State of Jodhpur."

42. "AN ILLUSTRIOUS STATE"

**Mar. 4,
1939**

Referring to the constitutional and general progress in Udaipur State, Lord Linlithgow points out that "the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself, and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight". Extracts from speech at the State Banquet at Udaipur on March 4, 1939:—

"I am gratified, too, to hear of the general progress and general advance that Your Highness has been able to achieve in all departments of the State administration during the last few years. In addition to the new revenue and settlement arrangements, your Military and Police Forces have been reorganised, your Judicial Department has been overhauled, you now have a High Court under the supervision of a Chief Judge, and many new laws and acts have been framed on the lines of those of British India and brought into

use in the State. Attention has also been paid to education and public health, while industry has not been forgotten. There are now, I understand, several cotton, ginning and pressing factories, a cloth mill, and a sugar factory in Mewar. I know that Your Highness takes a keen and personal interest in the administration of your State, and I know, too, of the many hours each day spent by you at your office table to keep in close touch with all that is going on. I offer Your Highness my heartiest congratulations upon this and upon all that you have achieved in the nine years of your rule over this illustrious State. These are days in which administrative efficiency is of most material importance, and improvements such as those which I have mentioned—a review of revenue and settlement arrangements, the attention which has been devoted to ensuring that your subjects have the benefit of adequate and reliable judicial arrangements, the revision of the Statute Book—are all clear proof of the extent to which Your Highness has the welfare of your subjects at heart. I have no doubt too, and the village Panchayat Act which Your Highness has just signed confirms me in this—that Your Highness, in the time to come, will continue to ensure that your people are given all due opportunities of bringing their wants and their troubles to the notice of your Government. I take this opportunity to touch upon that point, but I touch upon it in general terms. For, as has been made clear by the pronouncements recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and by myself on various public occasions, the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself, and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight.

Your Highness mentioned that you had under your consideration the draft Instrument of Accession which has recently been communicated to you. I entirely understand your feeling that it would be premature for you to express any view on terms of Instrument until the consideration which you are giving to that most important document has reached a further stage. I would only repeat what I think I have elsewhere made clear, that the decision, in this matter of such fundamental significance to the Indian States, and indeed to India as a whole, is one that has of set purpose been left to the free and unfettered judgment of individual Rulers concerned.

I much appreciate Your Highness's expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I will convey it to His Majesty at the earliest opportunity. I know that your words, which I so greatly value, reflect the long and close connection of Rulers of Mewar who have from time immemorial been so noted for their devotion to the causes they have supported, with the King-Emperor and with his illustrious predecessors.

I greatly appreciate, too, the cordial and friendly references which Your Highness has been kind enough to make to the untiring efforts of Mr. Chamberlain in the cause of peace, and your assurance of support. These are difficult days, in which many anxious problems confront those on whom falls the task of guiding the destinies of Great Britain

and the Empire. We may, I think, reflect with deep and real satisfaction on the progress which the Prime Minister has been able to make—progress which cannot but be a most helpful augury for the future.

Your Highness has but recently taken the momentous step of adopting an heir and successor, and it has been a very great pleasure to me during my visit to Udaipur to make the personal acquaintance of Maharaj Kunwar Bhagrati Singhji. I am sure that Your Highness's decision to make an adoption now, when you are in a position yourself to take a close and personal interest in the education and the training of your heir, is a wise one, and one in the best interest alike of your ancient House and of this famous State.

I thank Your Highness on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for your most kindly reference to the success which has attended her Appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund—a reference which she greatly appreciates. And I thank you, too, most warmly, on her behalf and on behalf of my family and myself for your most generous and cordial hospitality. Our visit to Udaipur to which we have so keenly looked forward for so long, and this first occasion on which we have had the pleasure of meeting Your Highness in your own State, will be an enduring memory for us."

43. RESEARCH IN ANIMAL NUTRITION

Mar. 11,
1939

Some lines on which a systematic attempt at improving India's live-stock wealth could be pursued were indicated by Lord Linlithgow when he opened the new wing of the Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar on March 11, 1939. Extracts from the speech :—

"Knowing my great interest in agricultural and veterinary matters, you will realise how glad I am to be here today for this, to my mind, most important occasion.

I was much interested in the account which you, Sir Jagdish, have just given in your address of the development of the Institute and the expansion of its work. These two buildings which I have come to open, and indeed the whole of this estate here, and the hilltop buildings in Kumaun, which together form the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, represent not so much the maturing of a considered plan as a process of inevitable growth. It is a matter of common observation that in the medical profession the progress of attention has been from cure of disease to prevention of disease and then to the establishment of health. This progress does not mean that medical interest is directed towards the latter aim in substitution of the former. It merely indicates that with the growth of human knowledge and experience and of a proper understanding and use of scientific enquiry attention which at first is confined to phenomena, extends itself to cover causes.

The general trend of veterinary activities presents a good example of this general progress which I have just described. Let me explain. The first point I would emphasise is the vastness of India's

animal population, which is to the student perhaps the most significant characteristic of her veterinary problems.

She holds a substantial proportion of the domestic animals of the world. Indeed, with an estimated total of 215 million animals, she carries over one-fourth of the world's stock of cattle and two-thirds of its buffaloes. In addition, she sustains something like 97 million sheep and goats.

It is generally agreed that this aggregate of domestic animals is larger than is required in a properly balanced economy and that it imposes a too heavy demand in terms of fodder and feeding stuffs. There can be little doubt that the prevalence of animal disease in India is the main clue to the enormous stock of animals which India houses.

In the past very heavy losses have been suffered from contagious diseases of animals such as rinderpest, anthrax, surra and the like. These losses menaced often the actual carrying out of agricultural operations which, since their timing and rotation is fixed by the cycle of the seasons, must be punctually carried out, and will indeed wait for no man.

In India the bullock is almost the only source of tractive power, and epidemics of animal diseases may deprive the cultivator both of the value of his working bullocks and of a large part of his crop.

So long, therefore, as disease reigned more or less uncontrolled, the cultivator and all who depended on the use of animals tended to carry a very large stock of them, since experience had taught that in the event of epizootic disease there would then be the chance of sufficient animals surviving to enable them at least to carry on. Clearly, under conditions where these diseases had more or less a free run, numbers were more important than quality and with overstocking and consequent shortage of fodder, it was unlikely that the average cultivator would maintain animals of substantial value.

A first and essential step towards the improvement of the quality of our stock has therefore been the control of animal diseases, and it was to meet this need that this Institute was founded almost 50 years ago. The decades intervening provide a record of the success in this most important aim. This Institute has established a deserved reputation and if animal disease is no longer the terror in India that it was half a century ago, much of the credit must be given to this and to similar establishments elsewhere which have concentrated on the study of animal diseases and on the production of remedies and preventives for them.

The importance of preventive work, which is the second in the sequence I mentioned, was early realised, and those in charge of the Institute set themselves to organising this side of veterinary work. The serum products which this Institute has produced and of which it is now so large a supplier are a testimony to the efficiency with which this work has been carried out.

The annual production of anti-rinderpest serum alone is over 700,000 doses, while the figures for other sera are equally of impressive dimensions. The rinderpest vaccine, in the development of which this Institute played a distinguished part, is an illustration of the results of continued efficient research, for it represents a comparatively cheap and easy method of bringing rinderpest under control, and the local preparation of this vaccine in a properly equipped provincial laboratory is now quite feasible. Advance in economy, simplicity and safety are all represented in this effort of research.

You will all appreciate how the climatic conditions of India add to the difficulties attendant on serum manufacture and the preservation of the viability of these delicate products ; and how, in consequence, provision of cold storage in the near future at Izatnagar will simplify and cheapen this storage problem.

The third stage in the sequence which I mentioned was the establishment of health, which means, for veterinary purposes, the establishment of animal well-being and of the general conditions which will strengthen the animal's resistance and improve its quality. This Animal Nutrition building which is before us now represents, as it were the realisation in brick and mortar of the full recognition of this important branch of veterinary science. It is not appropriate for me to dilate here on the vital importance of scientific nutrition. The interest in this question is now wide and general, and you are all aware of the necessity of food with effective and balanced nutritive value for the proper functioning of the body.

What applies to human beings applies with equal force to animals, and in India possibly with even greater force. The more I travel round India ; the more I reflect on the deeper and more intimate problems of her rural economy and the physical well-being of her millions ; the more am I confirmed in the importance I attach to raising the quality of her cattle and animal population.

To the great mass of the inhabitants good animals mean better and more profitable farming and more nourishing food.

This important—indeed this fundamental—position which animals occupy in India's economy demands that no effort should be spared to see that the resources of science and technical skill are devoted to examining the improvement of animal nutrition, and that the resultant knowledge on this subject is made available both to governments and, in popular form, to the farming community at large.

This Animal Nutrition Branch of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute will supply a most important need, and on behalf of all present here today I wish it all success.

The other new building which I have been invited to open represents a direct attempt to cope with a large, but till recently curiously neglected, side of Indian agricultural and connected activities. It is destined, I feel confident, to make a most valuable contribution towards the solution of those problems that today beset the poultry

keeper in India. The part played by disease as the opponent of quality of production, which I mentioned earlier in regard to animals, applies markedly in the case of poultry in India. So long as disease regularly sweeps off birds in large numbers there can be no sufficient incentive for ordinary owners to go in for quality as against quantity.

It is, I believe, the case that nearly all the poultry diseases which have shown themselves in India can readily be controlled and, if this be so, it is the measure of the opportunity before this Institute, and before those who will place the knowledge which will be acquired within these walls at the disposal of the cultivator and the poultry keeper.

In comparison with world figures India's total of domestic fowls and ducks is not so striking as the animal total. Nevertheless the gross figure of domestic fowls in India is estimated at 173 million birds—a figure from which the dimensions of the problem and the opportunity can at once be realised. A point of great interest is that in this particular departure the Institute is getting to grips at first hand with the commercial problem of the industry. I am convinced that there is great scope in India for the development of the poultry industry. The first requisite for that development is knowledge and it is the object of this Institute to provide it. I have every confidence that the Officer-in-Charge, with his staff, will be able at no distant date to render more profitable the business of poultry keeping in this country."

44. HOW TO MEET CRITICISM

Referring to cases of unjustified attacks to which the States had been subjected Lord Linlithgow in his address to the Chamber of Princes on March 13, 1939 pointed to the necessity of the Rulers' close personal interest in the affairs of the State and suggested that there could be "no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts":—

**Mar. 13,
1939**

"I am not ignorant that in recent times the Rulers of Indian States have been passing through in many cases a period of stress and difficulty. Far be it from me to deny that there have been many cases in which States have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy, or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people. But making all allowance for the fact that attacks of that nature have frequently been made, it is, I am sure, as plain to Your Highnesses as it is to me that it is more than ever essential in present conditions and in this changing world in which we live that the authorities of the Indian States should without exception make it their constant care to watch for and to remedy any legitimate grievances that may exist in the administrative field. Your Highnesses will agree with me that it is, equally, as clearly in the interests of all Rulers as it is their plain and manifest duty, to ensure by their own close personal interest in the affairs of their State, in the work of their officials, and in the daily life of their subjects, that those subjects have cause for content, that they are not allowed to suffer undue exactions

either on behalf of the State itself or at the call of unworthy officials, and that all genuine grievances receive prompt and active consideration. It goes without saying that an effective machinery by which the authorities of the States can satisfy themselves that all such complaints can readily reach the ears of the Durbar is an essential necessity in present conditions ; and Your Highnesses will all agree with me that it is equally essential that the peoples of the States should feel assured that their wants, their difficulties and their representations will receive the fullest attention and the fullest sympathy. Whatever may be the motives or the causes underlying criticisms of, or attacks on, the Indian States, the vulnerability of Durbars will obviously be increased if any legitimate grievances are left unredressed for agitation to exploit.

It is not to be expected even if every care is taken in those respects that the voice of criticism will be stilled. No Government in the world can in these days of ever-increasing publicity, of ever-increasing public interest in the conduct of administration and in the disposal of the public revenues, hope for this. But the importance of stating your cases will not have escaped the attention of Your Highnesses, and there can be no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts. There are many States which publish admirable Administration Reports, setting out in detail the true condition of affairs in the State, for all to see. Those States in which this practice has not yet been adopted would, I suggest, do well to consider the advisability of following the example of their neighbours in this matter.

Your Highnesses will have seen the declarations recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government, declarations which I have myself repeated in public utterances, in regard to constitutional changes or developments in the Indian States. Those statements will have made clear the attitude in this matter of His Majesty's Government, which is, I may repeat, that the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take, and that no pressure will be brought to bear on him in this respect by the Paramount Power. Nor will any obstruction be placed in his way by the Paramount Power should he wish to give effect to constitutional advances consistent with his Treaty obligations. The actual form of such constitutional machinery as a Ruler may in these circumstances decide to establish in his State must I readily recognize, vary according to conditions ; and it is obvious that full consideration must be given to local circumstances and conditions, and that the variation in those local circumstances and conditions may be reflected in a variation in the form of constitutional machinery to be devised or adopted in the case of a particular State. But making the fullest allowance for that fact, Your Highnesses will, I am quite certain, agree with me that the more personal the form of rule, the greater is the need for personal touch. He who would be the father of his people must satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are given their fair share in the benefits of his rule, and that an undue proportion of the revenue of his State is not reserved for his own expenditure. And the fact that the normal sphere of the activities of a

Ruler lies within the four corners of his State calls for no emphasis from me. An absentee Ruler, like an absentee landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has never easily admitted of justification ; and that has never been more markedly the case than in the conditions of the present day. That there may on occasion be reasons, over which he has no control, which make it necessary for a Ruler to absent himself for material periods from his territory I of course accept. But Your Highnesses, with your long and wide experience, will agree with me that, in such an event, it is essential that the Ruler so obliged to be absent from the personal direction of affairs in his State should satisfy himself beyond any question that those to whom he entrusts the government of his State are fully worthy of his confidence.

As Your Highnesses have lately been assured, the Paramount Power stands ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of its Treaty obligations. That does not, I need not say, for a moment mean the Princes themselves are not the primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious heritage. How often has it not been impressed on the Princes of India by those who have had their best interests at heart that they should sink their differences and stand shoulder to shoulder for the good of their States and for their own happiness and peace of mind ? Can it honestly be said, looking back as we do today over any period of years, that much has been achieved in pursuance of that advice ? There is no class and no community in the world which does not contain its weaker brethren. But it is, as Your Highnesses so well know, the common tendency of mankind to generalise, and one Ruler who ignores the welfare of his subjects is only too apt to be regarded as an embodiment of all his neighbours. Is it not possible that the more far-sighted Princes should combine to point out to such a Ruler by means of friendly advice the error of his ways, so that discredit may not be brought upon the entire Princely Order ?

In no case is the need for co-operation and combination more patent, more pronounced, and more immediate than in the case of the smaller States. Those States whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this opportunity to impress on the Rulers of such States, with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable. In doing so, they can rely upon receiving all possible assistance and advice from me and from my advisers. But the need is urgent and pressing. It calls for prompt action on the part of those concerned, and it is, in my judgment, vital in the interests of the smaller States themselves that no time whatever should be lost in taking the necessary steps.

Your Highnesses, I have touched in the few remarks I have had the pleasure of addressing to you today on matters of great significance and great consequence to the States and to their Rulers. I feel sure that the significance of what I have said will not be lost

upon you at a moment such as the present, of crucial importance in the development of the history of India. I do not desire to detain you longer this morning. Let me only again thank you for the opportunity of seeing you, and extend my best good wishes to you for a profitable session and for the successful discharge of the business which lies before us."

45. IMPROVING QUALITY OF CATTLE

July 22,
1939

Addressing the inaugural meeting of the General Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society in Simla, on July 22, Lord Linlithgow envisaged the Society's eventual development into a central organization in India directing and assisting similar efforts in the various provinces and States, fostering the highest standards in breeding and management, setting the seal of its approval upon the careful, conscientious breeder and including in its scope other animals of importance in India's rural economy, such as sheep, goats and camels, and poultry.

Lord Linlithgow said :—

"It is a great pleasure for me to be with you today at this inaugural meeting of the General Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

It is now some years ago since I first had occasion to apply my mind to the rural economy of India. The more I have studied the problems of the countryside, and the life and work of the Indian farmer the more I have been impressed by the urgent need for bettering the quality of India's cattle and for improving the practice of animal husbandry throughout the country. It is no doubt true that there are many directions in which the methods of farming and the prosperity of the farmer can be advanced. I am however convinced that no particular line of advance offers prospects more attractive, or promises so early and so considerable an economic reward, as the improvement of cattle and their better care. Indeed, there is hardly a Province or State in India where the improvement of the indigenous livestock does not hold out possibilities of an incalculable increase in the total wealth of the community. For that reason I wholly endorse Sir Jagdish's claim that the all-India character of your membership constitutes the happiest augury for the future of your Society.

Cattle Shows—or more frequently cattle fairs—are a common feature of Indian life. There can be no doubt that these fairs have done much to maintain and stimulate interest in the quality of livestock in India. But the contribution that local fairs or shows can make towards breed improvement, the standardization of breed characteristics and the popularising of successful types, is plainly limited.

What is required, if the best results are to follow, is an exhibition which presents to the interested public the opportunity of viewing, at some convenient centre, the best and most typical animals representing as many as possible of the famous breeds of Indian cattle. Those

are the conditions which are capable of attracting experts from every part of the country as well as from overseas ; and which give to breeders the chance to develop their critical faculty and a keen eye for quality.

The first All-India Cattle Show, held in New Delhi in 1938, was admittedly an experiment. It proved a substantial success and so also did the Show in 1939. They plainly indicated that they were something that everybody wanted, whether farmer, breeder, dealer or ordinary public. To give you one example of a sphere in which they were successful. Sales during the Show are, of course, forbidden. But it is known that sales of a considerable total value resulted directly from the Show. This is eminently satisfactory.

I think too I may safely say that these Shows have placed Indian cattle on the world cattle map. Apart from the fact that illustrated articles regarding Indian cattle are now frequent in journals throughout the world, enquiries have been received from South America, West Indies, Philippines, the Straits Settlements, East Africa, and Iraq regarding Indian cattle. A well-organised show at which the best breeds of cattle are exhibited naturally attracts the attention of agents of purchasers from other countries. Public interest has been stimulated and it is wise to lose no opportunity for maintaining it.

The experience gained from these Shows gave warrant for the setting up of a permanent organisation whose function is to be the conduct, year by year, of the All-India Cattle Show and the carrying on of activities connected therewith, including the furtherance of cattle breeding and the improvement of stock, and ultimately also the conduct of similar activities and organisation of shows in regard to other animals and poultry.

The objects of the Society indicate that for the present your main attention is directed—as indeed I am well aware—to all the activities which in the cattle breeding areas are contributing towards the steady improvement of breeds. In this connection, I was particularly pleased to hear from Sir Jagdish Prasad that as a result of the two Shows already held one breed society has already been formed. I hope it will not now be long before those interested in other breeds will follow suit. I am glad to learn that Provincial Livestock Improvement Associations, District Associations, and Village Improvement Societies are playing an important part in this work in many Provinces and States. In the Punjab alone I am told there are 719 Cattle Improvement Societies, with about 15,000 members. This is admirable. Where such organisations are not available, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research are giving their assistance in the establishment of suitable agencies.

The great importance of breeding from selected sires is everywhere recognised, and in this connection you may be interested to hear the present position in regard to the appeal for the provision of stud bulls, which I myself launched in 1936. The number of approved bulls donated in response to that appeal is now estimated at 3,400. In addition, the authorities throughout India have already provided or have approved schemes for the provision in the near future of about

8,000 approved bulls. Needless to say, it is not sufficient merely to provide a bull. Money must be found and the necessary attention given to maintain the animal in optimum condition. This, I am glad to say, has been arranged in all cases. Again, this by itself is not sufficient.

It is vital to the success of these endeavours that adequate records should be kept of the progeny of approved sires, so that a sustained effort may be made to secure that by due care in subsequent matings the improved strain may be used to the best purpose for raising the general level of the breed. The ultimate success of all our efforts towards breed improvement is entirely dependent upon the maintenance of sufficient and accurate records. Without such recording of pedigree and performance, the impulse will wane, and such improvement as may already have been obtained will be irretrievably lost in the vast aggregate of India's cattle population. It is in matters like this that your Society can do work of the utmost value.

During 1938 and 1939 classes at the All-India Cattle Show have been limited to cattle and buffaloes. That, I think, has been a wise decision, but I am glad to see that your constitution does not prevent your extending your activities at a later date to other kinds of livestock. I have no doubt that, through the Animal Husbandry Commissioner, your Society will be kept in touch with developments in this connection and will be informed, when a stage has been reached, where you can be of assistance. There are other animals of importance in India's rural economy, sheep, goats, camels and poultry, and I have no doubt that, as your Society develops, you will consider whether it is possible for you to include them also. You will not understand me as suggesting that your Society and your Show should immediately undertake these additional activities. I am satisfied that you are not yet in a position to do so. But it is desirable to bear in mind the immense possibilities for good which are latent in a Society such as yours. It is not unreasonable to look forward to the day when you will develop into the Central organisation in India, directing and assisting similar efforts in the various Provinces and States, fostering the highest standards in breeding and management, and setting the seal of your approval upon the careful, conscientious breeder by your selections from the finest animals in the whole country.

I do not overlook the fact that the forecast I have made involves the material consideration of finance. You will, I think, agree that the Central Government have not been ungenerous. They financed the first Show with a grant of Rs. 25,000 and have now placed a lump sum of Rs. 2½ lakhs at your Society's disposal. Admittedly, expenses in the first year or two are likely to be a trifle inflated by what we should ordinarily call non-recurring expenditure. The financial statement, which has been placed before you, shows, however, that you are not likely to bring your annual charges below about half a lakh. I am indeed glad to hear of the generous donations, both of cups and of money, which you have received. You must also be grateful to the Punjab Government which has set aside Rs. 8,000 on each occasion

and has rendered valuable assistance in personnel and material. Considering the extent of the problem with which you deal and its immediate interest to almost every part of India, fifty thousand rupees a year is not a large sum divided among all Provinces and States concerned, and I am confident that the appeal for annual contributions, which is being made, will meet with a ready and generous response. Given adequate finance and the continuance of interest—which as long as India maintains so vast a cattle population and her peoples are so dependent on its quality, must continue—I foresee unlimited scope and usefulness for your Society. It is my constant conviction that those privileged to minister to the true interests of the cultivator have it in their power to strengthen the very life centres of this great country. Therefore I cannot overstate my sense of the value and importance of your mission. I trust that the highest success may reward your labours."

46. PROVINCES AND STATES

"Provinces and States are, and must always be, neighbours. They have each their own part to play in the progress of India, and the parts must be played in harmony and not in dissonance. The virtues of neighbourliness in ordinary community life need no defining by me. Is it too much to hope that these virtues should be projected into a wider relationship of political units?"—said Lord Linlithgow at a banquet given at Cuttack on July 31, 1939, replying to the speech by the Governor of Orissa. Extracts:

"My first duty is to thank Your Excellency for the kind words in which you have proposed my health. I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to have been able to pay this visit, the first visit paid by a Viceroy to Orissa since the establishment of Orissa as a separate Province. My only regret and one, I know, shared by her is that my wife has not been able to accompany me.

The life of Orissa as a separate Province is not yet a long one, but nevertheless I hasten to assure you all that I am fully conscious of the long history and the distinguished traditions associated with this part of India, and of the importance which Orissa now has in the scheme of India's political life.

Your Excellency's reminder that the area of Orissa is greater than that of my native Scotland, and that its population exceeds that of the continent of Australia, is a timely one and focuses attention on the fact that when considering a political unit its full significance may be overlooked if it is considered only in comparison with other units possibly of a greater political importance. The fact of fundamental importance which has to be remembered is that its problems are problems which concern the lives, the well-being, and the happiness, of many millions of human beings, and of a large area of the earth's surface. It is only in this perspective that one can see the responsibilities of those who guide its Government.

It is natural that a new Province such as this should be faced with many difficult problems intimately associated with its development and with the place which you consider Orissa should rightfully hold among the Provinces of India. In your speech you touched on some of the most important of those problems. I will refer first to the difficult question of your Provincial Capital. After what I have seen today I certainly appreciate the difficulties facing Your Excellency's Government in deciding where to place the new buildings required for your Capital. Popular feeling, as finally expressed in a decision of the Provincial Legislature, has selected the historical site of Cuttack, but lack of space on this small peninsula drives you inevitably to look across the Mahanadi for what I may describe—to use a phrase only too familiar in other connections—as 'living room'.

But I fear that a major bridge formed no part of the estimates when the grants were calculated which make up the 42½ lakhs to be provided by the Central Government to assist Orissa with her building programme; and anxious as I naturally am to lend any possible encouragement in connection with projects the local interest of which is so great, it would be disingenuous of me were I to hold out any hope of further help from Central sources in connection with that programme.

A bridge between Cuttack and Chauduar would not, I fear, supply a link in any trunk road project envisaged by the Transport Advisory Council; and when I tell you that to connect the coastal trunk road from Madras with the trunk road passing through Sambalpur by bridging the Mahanadi and the Katjuri at Cuttack would involve an expenditure in the neighbourhood of Rs. 64 lakhs—nearly three times, in other words, the annual receipts of a Road Fund Reserve which has to serve the needs of all the Provinces and all the States of India, the very great difficulties that stand in the way will be patent to you.

It is never a welcome or a pleasant task to have to remind a Provincial Government that where funds are concerned their claims must be considered in relation to the claims of other parts of India as a whole; and no one, I can assure you, is more conscious of that than I am. But these are facts that must be faced: and, as in the case of the Mahanadi bridge, I could but wish that I could hold out greater hopes to you in connection with the archaeological possibilities of Orissa. The potentialities of Orissa as a field for exploration have long been recognised, but the whole field of archæology in India is of such a magnitude that Government effort must necessarily be confined to areas which are universally recognised as being of the greatest importance. I can assure you, however, that the claims of Orissa will not be overlooked.

As one profoundly interested in the well-being of the Indian peasantry I feel deeply the annual toll in misery and loss which floods take of the ryot; and nowhere in India is the sacrifice demanded of the poor on this account greater or more frequent in its infliction than in Orissa.

I am therefore particularly happy that Your Excellency's Government have so early taken steps to investigate the causes of these periodic disasters and to find a remedy. I shall await with much interest the recommendations of the Committee which the Government of Orissa have appointed.

In the meantime you have already received proof of my own practical sympathy and that of my Government in the deputation of Mr. Inglis to assist in the work of the Committee. Not only has Mr. Inglis devoted many years to problems of river control : his presence in Orissa carries with it the guarantee of the technical assistance of the well-known Station of Hydro-dynamic Research at Khadakvasla of which he is the head, and which he has himself built up : and I feel confident that the Committee will turn to the fullest advantage the expert advice which Mr. Inglis and the Khadakvasla Station are so well qualified to give.

You have mentioned the need for greater activity in educational, medical and similar development, particularly in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Koraput. There is no need for me to remind you that the primary responsibility for work on these and allied problems falls upon the Provinces, not upon the Central Government. But I should like to take this opportunity to emphasize the facilities provided by the Central Government for the co-ordination of information through such bodies as the Central Advisory Boards on Education and on Public Health, and I can assure you that the expert advisers with the Central Government will at all times be ready to lend their assistance in the examination of any schemes which the Provincial Government may have in mind.

I have reserved to the last the first problem to which Your Excellency drew my attention, namely, the relations between the people of the Province of Orissa and those in the neighbouring States. It is only natural that the people of Orissa should take a close interest in their neighbours who speak the same language and are imbued with the same culture. The physical boundary between the two is unsubstantial ; backwards and forwards across it there flows a daily traffic of family and social intercourse, of business, and of trade. I have indeed, as you mentioned, been giving my constant attention during my term of office to the problem of the relation between States and British India and not least to relations between the Province of Orissa and the peoples of the Eastern States. It has always been my endeavour, and will continue to be so, to assist the Rulers of these States in advancing the prosperity and contentment of their subjects.

And I am glad of Your Excellency's assurance that the people of Orissa desire to maintain the most friendly relations both with the Rulers of the Orissa States and with their subjects. Provinces and States are and must always be neighbours. They have each their own part to play in the progress of India, but the parts must be played in harmony and not in dissonance. The virtues of neighbourliness in ordinary community life need no defending by

me. Is it too much to hope that these virtues should be projected into the wider relationship of political units?

Your Excellency was good enough at the beginning of your speech to pay a very kind tribute to myself and to my work in India. Let me say at once that such success as I may have attained would not have been possible had it not been for the loyal and strenuous co-operation of my colleagues, the Governors. I realise to the full the burden of responsibility which they carry—a burden which has at any time in the past been a heavy one; and to which in your case, Sir John, there have been added in the last three years not only the problems inseparable from the introduction of a new form of Constitution but those associated with the creation of a new Province. I should like, if I may, to pay a well-merited tribute to Your Excellency's labours and your skilful handling of the many problems both of the new Constitution and of Orissa.

I have no doubt that Orissa owes, and will continue to owe, a very considerable debt of gratitude to her first Governor.

I would like, too, to associate in this tribute Lady Hubback. I well know how much her devoted assistance has meant to Your Excellency. I know too with how much sympathy and how much success she has played her part in the furthering of all good causes and in the relief of suffering, not only in this Province but in the other parts of India in which you and she have served. It gave me the greatest pleasure to present personally to you, Lady Hubback, here in this Province the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal which you have so well deserved.

Let me in conclusion pay a tribute to the Ministers now carrying on the Government.

Those who have experienced it will testify that the guidance of the ship of State in these troubled times is no easy task, but I am sure you will agree that the energy and resource with which the Ministry here have tackled their problems is an encouraging augury for the future.

I thank you again, Your Excellency, for your most generous welcome. I take again this opportunity of saying how glad I am to have visited Orissa and I wish yourself, Lady Hubback, and the Province success and, perhaps, in these dark days, an equally important wish, freedom from trouble. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink the health of His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, coupled with the name of Lady Hubback."

47. VISIT TO FAMINE AREA

Replying to addresses of welcome from the Hissar District Board and the Hissar District Soldiers' Board on August 6, 1939, Lord Linlithgow paid a tribute to the Punjab Services for their efficient work during the famine in Hissar District and elsewhere. **Aug. 6, 1939**

" You all know how, as a countryman, I enjoy visiting rural areas and seeing the country people of India against their true and proper background. As an old soldier too it is always a great pleasure for me to meet old soldiers and those who have upheld the great martial traditions of the Punjab in all parts of the world. I am grateful for your assurances of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The tradition of loyalty in the Punjab is a great one and I am confident that in these troublous times the Punjab still remains true to this great tradition that it always had.

I note with pleasure the appreciative terms in which you speak of the efficiency and generosity of the measures taken by Government to deal with this famine.

I would like myself to take this opportunity of paying my tribute also to the measures which they have taken in this connection. To see the efforts of the Government in true perspective it must be realised that the famine was not confined to Hissar District alone and that the Provincial Government had to organise relief on an extensive scale and to incur heavy expenditure in the Rohtak and Gurgaon Districts also. I have perused with great interest reports dealing with the steps taken by Government, and I am deeply impressed by their completeness and by the scale and the value of the work which they record.

Fodder supplies for the maintenance of plough and milch cattle were guaranteed, and the famous breeds with which this District is associated have been preserved. It is gratifying to note also that the quality of animals has been maintained and that the difference between the 1938 and 1939 prices at the Hissar Cattle Fair has been so small. Owing to the intense activity of the Veterinary Department no contagious disease broke out among cattle.

Let me add that I hope that in future years cattle from this District may compete successfully at the All-India Cattle Show.

The relief works, of which the carefully devised sanitary and hygienic arrangements have been so marked a feature, have been both extensive and useful. The sustained efforts which the Medical and Public Health Departments of the Punjab Government have been making to safeguard the health of the population in these famine-stricken areas have been outstanding, and I have noted with particular interest the efforts made to supply the deficiency in vitamins in the ordinary diet by the distribution of carrots and codliver oil.

In paying my tribute to the Punjab Government and especially to the Ministers mainly responsible, I would like, with your permission, Sir Sikander, to compliment also the permanent officials and the technical

officers on their excellent work, and on the energy and the close personal interest they have without exception displayed through a period of such prolonged anxiety. It would be invidious to single out individuals, but I feel I can without fear of arousing jealousy extend my warmest congratulations on the admirable results achieved to Mr. Dobson, to Mr. Hearn, to Mr. Brander, on whom a particularly heavy burden has fallen, to Mr. Bryan who was Deputy Commissioner when the famine work started and to whom great credit is due for its organisation on the right lines, and to the Fodder Adviser, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fateh-ud-din. I can pay them no higher tribute than to say that they have maintained to the full the very high standard which we have come to expect to be associated with Punjab Services.

As I mentioned before, it is always a great pleasure to meet old soldiers and I was much interested to hear the activities of the Hissar District Soldiers' Board. It is clear that despite the lack of funds to which you refer the Board has been doing most active and useful work. I note with especial interest the assistance rendered by it in connection with the famine.

You will not expect me to deal at length with the interesting points you have raised in your address which relate to the particular problems of the martial classes to which I listened with the greatest interest. I note with satisfaction your appreciation and gratitude for the extensive famine relief measures introduced by the Punjab Government, and your emphasis on the proof which they constitute of the sympathy for the Hissar District of your Premier and his colleagues. Their constant interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, not only of Hissar but of the Punjab as a whole, needs no comment from me : and it is, in my opinion, a sufficient guarantee that the interests of the martial classes are in safe hands.

I note with satisfaction the resolution that in the event of war the martial classes of the Hissar District would offer their services in person and place all their resources at the disposal of Government. As I have said before these renewed assurances of loyalty are encouraging in times such as these. I only pray that circumstances should not arise in which you should be called upon to put into effect this resolution.

Gentlemen, I repeat again that it has been a great pleasure for me to visit Hissar today. I have been much interested in all I have seen. I am gratified to hear such sincere appreciation of the efforts of your Government and I am gratified that I have seen with my own eyes that these efforts have been successful and that Hissar has weathered conditions which tested the endurance of its inhabitants to the utmost. In taking my leave I wish you all, Gentlemen, the best of good fortune and freedom from the ills which have beset you in the past."

48. RULERS FREE TO CHOOSE

While Lord Linlithgow regards the Federal offer as "a fair offer and a well-balanced one,"—otherwise he could not, with clear conscience, have commended it to the Ruling Chiefs—he tells them that the "choice is a free choice of each individual, and it is for him, and for him alone to make up his own mind as to what decision he wishes to take." Aug. 21,
1939

A suggestion was prominently brought to his notice, that "a Prince who rejects out of hand the Federal offer will be exhibiting by his action his loyalty to the Crown!" Nothing "could be a more fantastic or a more improper suggestion."

Another suggestion was made that "Imperial" interests were likely to suffer injury from the Federal scheme. Lord Linlithgow assures Their Highnesses that all relevant considerations were before His Majesty's Government and Parliament when they approved of the scheme.

Speech to the members of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes on August 21, 1939:—

"Your Highnesses,—It gave me great pleasure to accept the suggestion made to me by His Highness the Chancellor that I should receive the Members of the Standing Committee at Simla so that I might appreciate the difficulties of an important section of the Princely Order in regard to the Federal offer, and do what I could to dispel those difficulties, and I extend a very warm welcome to you this afternoon.

I think it will be best that I should make at the beginning of these proceedings some general observations. I shall, I need not say, be very glad to listen to any general comments which thereafter Your Highnesses may wish to make to me on the situation or on particular difficulties, and I think that when I have had the opportunity of hearing any such general comments should you, at this stage, desire to make any such comments, the best course will be that Your Highnesses should discuss the problems which are in your minds in their more technical and detailed aspects with my Political Department.

Let me, in the first instance, say how fully conscious I am of the onerous nature of the decision which it falls to the Princes to take at the present juncture. The choice is the free choice of each individual Ruler, and it is for him, and for him alone, to make up his own mind as to what decision he wishes to take. I have repeatedly made that clear in public; it has been made clear by His Majesty's Government on various occasions; and it is, I am satisfied, fully appreciated by the Princes; but I think it well to take the opportunity of our meeting today again to place it on record. I think it desirable to do so because I have frankly been surprised to learn that the suggestion has been made in some quarters that my officers have been endeavouring to bring pressure to bear on Their Highnesses as to the course which they should adopt. So far as I know there is no foundation whatever for

that allegation. That I myself regard the federal offer as a fair offer and a well-balanced one I have never concealed from Your Highnesses or from the public. I could not, with a clear conscience, have been responsible, under the instructions of His Majesty's Government, for communicating that offer to the Ruling Chiefs, had I not been entirely satisfied in my own mind on that point, as I am sure Your Highnesses will agree. That the offer may not in all respects come up to the expectations of individual Rulers, that it may in certain respects be unsatisfactory from their point of view, I, of course, readily accept as possible. But that does not affect my main point—that the offer, carefully worked out after long and patient discussion and investigation of the legitimate claims of the different Rulers and of the various other factors that have to be taken into consideration, represents an honest and sincere endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government to put to the Princely Order propositions which in the view of His Majesty's Government may be regarded as representing a reasonable proposal. The offer has, as Your Highnesses are well aware, been elaborated with the utmost care; and I think you will agree that no pains have been spared by His Majesty's Government, by my officers, or by myself, to give all possible assistance to the Princes with a view to clarifying points, and removing misunderstandings, which may arise in connection with it.

I have been gratified to receive replies which have made it clear to me that the offer is regarded as fair and reasonable by Princes of great importance and representing very varied circumstances. But other of the replies I have so far received have shown me that in the case of certain Princes there are aspects of the offer, which they regard as open to exception. The extent to which, as my original letter of January 27th made clear, any modification is now practicable, is very limited indeed. For, as Your Highnesses will appreciate, our hands are closely tied. But you will find my department very ready to discuss the matters of concern to you in close detail; and I shall always, I need not say, be ready to give my own close and sympathetic attention to any points which you may wish to bring to my notice.

Your Highnesses need no assurances from me of my anxiety to further the interests, and to meet the difficulties, of the Princely Order, consistently with the other obligations which fall upon me. I doubt if there is very much that I can profitably say to Your Highnesses of a general character today as regards the decision that falls to you. As I mentioned earlier, the decision is solely for yourselves to take; and I do not know that there are any considerations likely to be of assistance to Your Highnesses in making up your minds that I can lay before you; for you are already fully familiar with the field and with the arguments for and against Accession. There are one or two points that have always carried weight with me personally, in my judgment of the federal offer. Though I think you are familiar with them already, I might perhaps mention them again.

The first is the federal offer in relation to the full and future security of the States. The offer embodies the safeguards which His

Majesty's Government regard as appropriate and sufficient for that purpose. The federation is one in which the Princely Order will carry a very substantial voice—125 seats, or one-third, in the Lower House, and 104 seats, or two-fifths, in the Upper House. This has always seemed to me to be a bloc which, if the Princely Order are wise, and hold together, no political party can possibly afford to ignore.

Secondly, the situation which arises if the majority, in the terms of the Act, of the Princely Order elect to stand aside from the scheme of federation which has been offered to them by His Majesty's Government, and allow British India to develop on its own. It is not for me to say, or to predict, what lines political development may follow in British India. But, whatever may be the form and nature of such political development, it will be contrary to all the teachings of history to imagine that, on whatever basis, and in whatever form, it is not going to come; while in particular the difficulty of conceiving the retention of the present so-called "irresponsible Centre" as at present constituted for any indefinite period, is, I am sure, as present to Your Highnesses as to other skilled observers of the political situation. To what extent the form of Government that may emerge from such development as I have referred to is likely to be more, or less, satisfactory from the point of view of Princely India, remaining outside, is for Your Highnesses to judge. I have only been concerned to do what I can to secure that injury may not be done by the suggestion that the hopes of a federation of India, and of the welding of India into a single whole, based on the Act of 1935, have been prevented from fulfilment by the abstention of the Princely Order, leading members of which were directly responsible for the emergence of the ideal of a federation of India from the proceedings of the Round Table Conference.

Finally, since the anxiety of His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative to defend and support the Princes in their rights and privileges must always be great, I have asked myself whether the scheme of federation is the alternative that will best assist His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative in that responsible task. The conclusion I have myself reached you know; but that is merely my personal point of view; and the decision on this point, as on the several points which have carried weight with me, and on the offer as a whole, must be the free untrammelled decision of the individual members of the Princely Order.

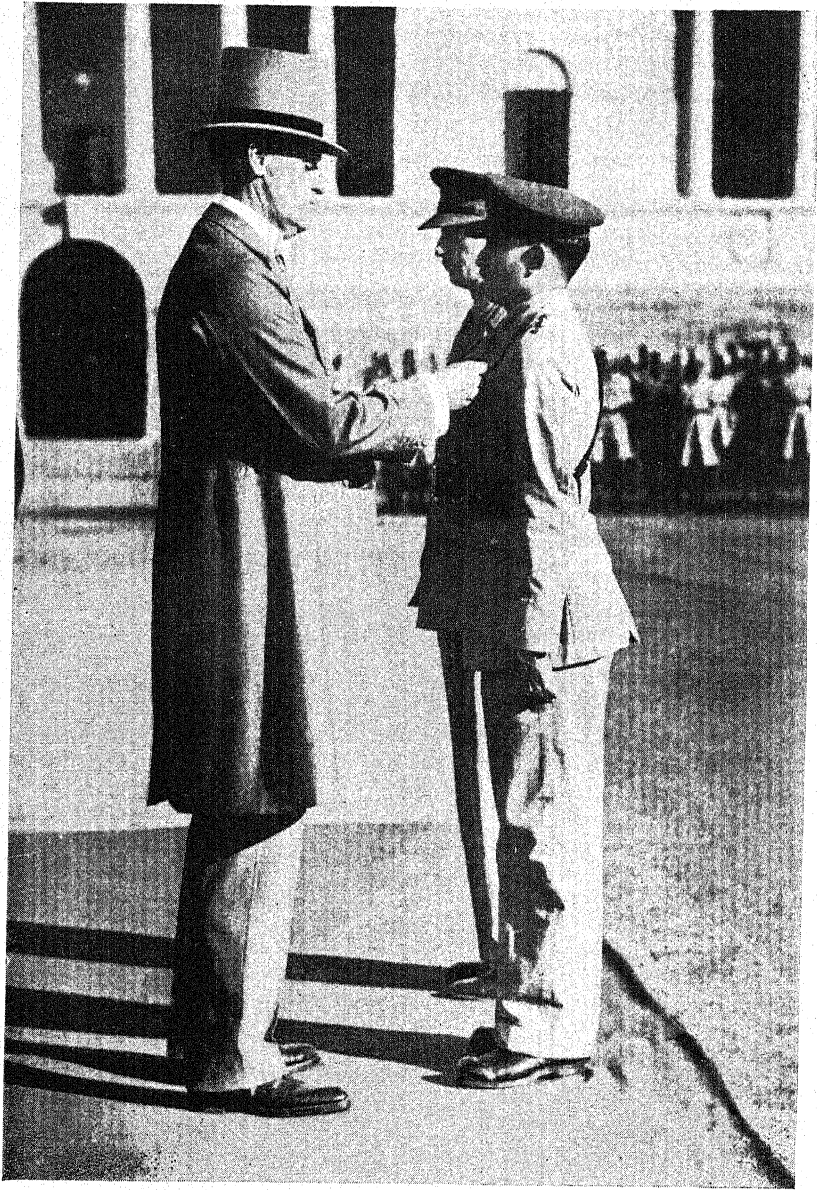
There is, however, one point which I ought in fairness to mention to Your Highnesses today, since it has been brought prominently to my notice. That is the suggestion that a Prince who rejects out of hand the federal offer will be exhibiting by his action his loyalty to the Crown. Nothing, Your Highnesses will agree with me, could be a more fantastic or a more improper suggestion. I would not have mentioned it to you today had it not been that in at any rate two replies which I have had from the Princes, I saw what I took to be a reference to it. The suggestion has equally been

made to me that what have been described by at any rate one Ruler as "Imperial interests" were likely to suffer injury from the Federal scheme. Your Highnesses need no assurance from me that His Majesty's Government have all relevant considerations of that order before them today, as indeed they, and Parliament, had in approving this scheme.

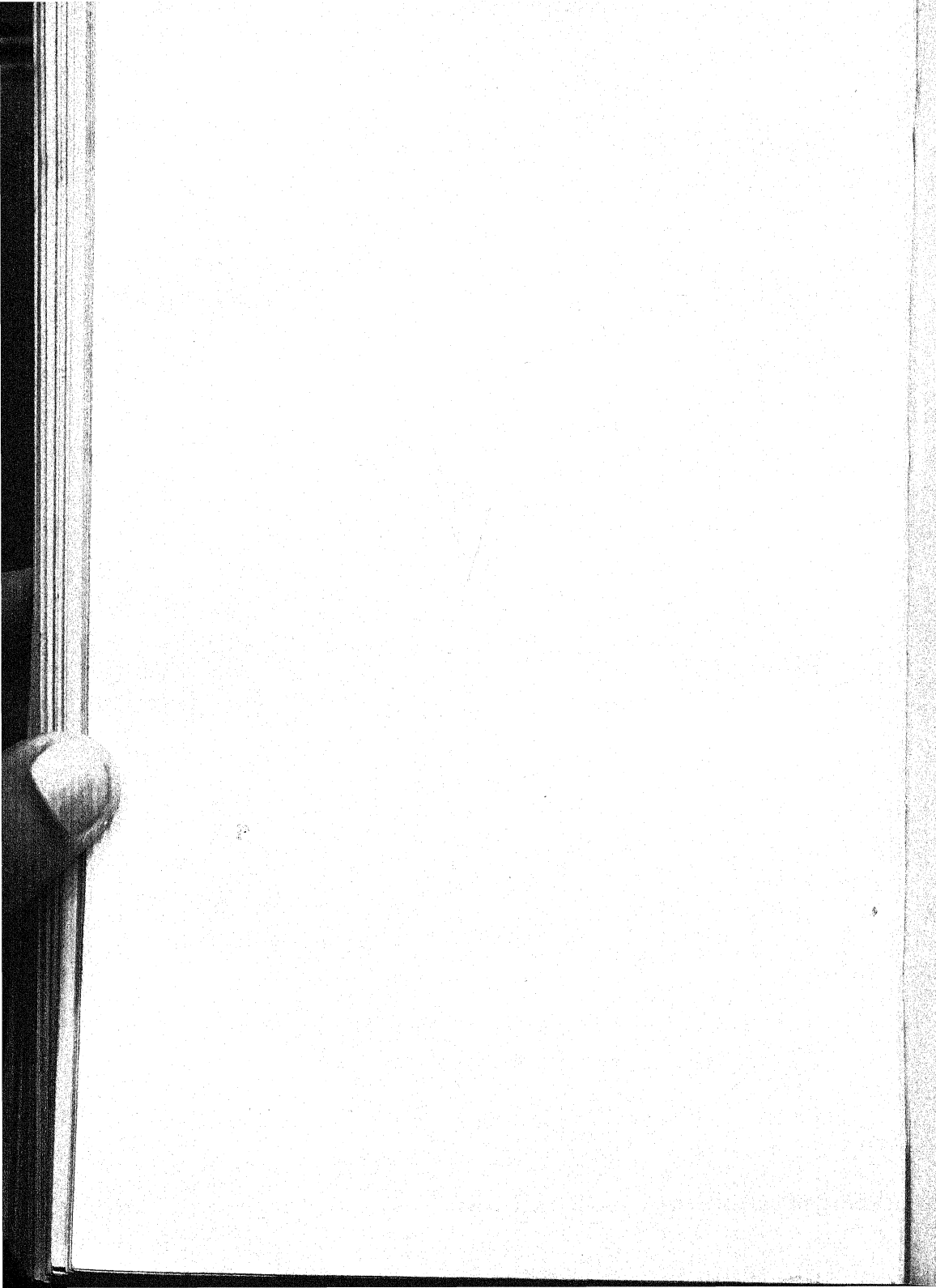
Let me finally say that, to those who have made up their minds that the scheme of federation is definitely unacceptable, there is nothing more to be said. The choice is theirs. To those who are inclined to believe that federation is the right solution, but who would like their existing objections to be, as far as practicable, removed, I would say this:

Many years have been spent in considering the idea of federation; in protracted preliminary discussions; in the preparation and passing of the Government of India Act; in the elaboration of the Instruments of Accession, with its schedules and limitations; and in the presentation of the offer to the States. The time for decision—a decision falling to be taken, in his own free judgment, by each individual Prince—is drawing to its conclusion. No one can reasonably expect that he will secure everything that he might at any moment wish in this world. British Indian criticism of the probable terms of the offer has already been vocal. It would be too much to hope that its volume will not increase once the terms of the offer are published. Nor is it to be expected, as I have mentioned already, that every detail of the offer will be entirely welcome to each individual Prince.

There is nothing more I think that I can say to Your Highnesses, save that now, as always, you can rely on my sympathy for your position; and on my full appreciation of the responsibilities that weigh upon you; and that you may be certain that so far as I can continue to be of assistance to Your Highnesses, or to any Member of the Princely Order, in dissipating misunderstanding, clearing up doubtful points, or investigating particular aspects of the many difficult questions that have confronted us in connection with the federal offer, all the help that I can give you through my officers is and will continue to be at your disposal."



H. E. the Viceroy presenting the V.C. to Capt. P. S. Bhagat, I.E.



PART III

THE WAR

1. CLEAR ISSUES

Nowhere do the great principles which stand challenged by the Nazis, mean more than in India. "There is no country that values them more highly than India, and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them"—says Lord Linlithgow in his message to India of September 3, 1939. Full text:—

Sept. 3,
1939

"You have all heard that early on Friday morning the German armed forces invaded Polish territory. The German Government presented no ultimatum. They gave the Polish Government warning. Their war planes are reported to be bombing open towns, and heavy casualties have already been inflicted among the civilian population.

It is clear beyond any question from what has happened that Poland has had to face the same threat that Czechoslovakia had to face a year ago. Confronted with the demand that she should accept the dictation of a foreign power in relation to her own territory and her own subjects, Poland has elected to stand firm. At this moment her troops are bravely defending the frontiers against the ruthless power that seeks to overwhelm her. His Majesty's Government, and the Government of France, have made it clear that they stand behind the former pledges against aggression which they had given to Poland. It is in these circumstances that we find ourselves at war with Germany today.

The issues that emerge are clear. Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible. It would represent the triumph of aggression and the supremacy of the rule of force. In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world, and no peace of mind for any of us. The ruthless onslaught of Germany on Poland, without a declaration of war, is in keeping with the rest of her conduct in this matter. What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that civilised man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force, the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity.

Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India, and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them. His Majesty's Government in entering the war have done so with no selfish aim. They have done so to safeguard vital principles affecting all humanity; to ensure the orderly progress of civilisation; to see that disputes are settled between nations, not by the arbitrament of force, but by equitable and peaceful means. They have spared no effort to avoid the calamity that now threatens the world.

I do not propose to speak to you at length this evening. Far more important than anything that I can say to you must be the response of each one of you to this tremendous issue. With me, I am certain, you will feel that in the stern and testing days that lie before us, victory—the triumph of the right—will not be secured by arms alone. We shall all of us have to depend upon those inner and spiritual forces which in all the great emergencies of life are the true and unfailing source of strength and fortitude.

In a cause such as this the whole-hearted sympathy and the support of all in this great country whether in British India or in the Indian States, will, I am certain, be forthcoming without distinction of class, of creed, of race, or of political party. I am confident that on a day in which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilisation of the modern world stands in peril, India will make her contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force, and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations, and the historic civilisations of the world."

2. ONE APPEAL ONLY—UNITE

Sept. 11,
1939

No course but armed resistance being open to the civilised world to meet the threat to the great principles at stake in view of Nazi aggression, Lord Linlithgow would make only one appeal. "My appeal is one for unity," he says in his address to both Houses of the Central Legislature on September 11, 1939:—

"Gentlemen,—I have in the first place to read to you a Gracious Message to India from His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor which I have just received, and which I think can most appropriately first be announced in the presence of the Central Legislature. It is as follows:—

"In these days, when the whole of civilisation is threatened, the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms has been a source of deep satisfaction to me. I also value most highly the many and generous offers of assistance made to me by the Princes and people of India. I am confident that in the struggle upon which I and my peoples have now entered, we can count on sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian Continent in the face of the common danger. Britain is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind—the principle that the relations between

civilised States must be regulated, not by force, but by reason and law, so that men may live free from the terror of War, to pursue the happiness and the well-being which should be the destiny of mankind.' The message is signed by His Majesty's own hand.

We are all of us by now only too familiar with the circumstances in which Germany has attacked her neighbour State. We have seen, even in the week that has elapsed since the outbreak of the war, the spirit in which that war is likely to be waged by Germany's Rulers. We have seen the ruthless onslaught upon Poland without a declaration of war; the sinking without warning of the liner "Athenia," and the loss of life that has followed; the complete and cynical disregard by the Rulers of the German people of those principles the establishment and the maintenance of which has been the general object of civilised mankind in past years. It is clear beyond any question in the present circumstances that, hateful as the idea of war may be to us, we, and the nations associated with us, are left with no alternative. There is no means of replying to the unprovoked and wanton onslaught that has been made on a peaceful country but by resorting ourselves to force. But, in resorting to force, we can at least do so with confidence as to the purity of our motives, and as to the unselfishness of the considerations which have led us to our decision.

I need not today enlarge on the importance of the issues. You are all of you familiar with them. But I would again emphasize the impossibility which confronts us in face of repeated breaches of faith, breaches of honourable understandings, over the past year and more, of trusting the word of the Rulers of the German people—a point which the Prime Minister forcibly brought out in his recent address to Germany. Nothing could be more damning than the plain recital of the facts. We have been assured time and again that Germany had no further territorial ambition in Europe, and that assurance has been repudiated on every occasion on which it has suited the Rulers of Germany to repudiate it. We have been assured that Germany would respect the Treaty of Locarno; that she had no designs on the former Czechoslovakia; that she was concerned only to restore to Germany the Sudeten fringes of Czechoslovakia, and had no designs on the true Czechoslovak centre of that country; that she did not aim at the incorporation in her territories of the citizens of any non-German nation or race; that she did not contemplate the annexation of Austria; that she had no designs on Poland, for many years in the difficult post-war period a trusting friend bound to her by treaties of alliance. That long list does not exhaust the tale of German pledges, publicly given in the most binding and the most sacred fashion. No single one of those pledges has been honoured. Each one of them has been broken with entire disregard for those standards of truth and international morality on the basis of which alone the world can hold together, or hope to progress. And those breaches of faith have been not merely a breach of faith. They have represented a denial of justice; a refusal to recognize any guiding principle save that of force; a complete and

cynical disregard for the principles that regulate the intercourse of nation with nation ; an anxiety to turn to the fullest advantage the absence of preparedness of those nations who had believed in the sanctity and in the sacredness of the undertakings given on behalf of a great nation by the Rulers of that nation.

Now that the decision is taken, now that it is clear that no course other than armed resistance will enable us, and the countries allied with us, to preserve the principles for which we fight, I would make only one appeal today. My appeal is one for unity. In the Message which I have just read His Imperial Majesty has told us of the deep satisfaction caused to him, by, in his own words, 'the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms.' Our task must be to vindicate the principles at stake, to work together in the closest unity for the furthering of our common object. Nothing could be more significant than the unanimity of approach of all in India—the Princes, the leaders of the great political parties, the ordinary man and woman ; or than the contributions, whether in offers of personal service, of men, of money, that have already reached me from the Princes and the people of India. There could be no more striking evidence of the depth of the appeal of the issues now before us. I am confident that however difficult may be the days that lie ahead of us (and the teaching of history shows us clearly the folly of assuming in a struggle of the magnitude of the present that victory will be easy, or that the course of the campaign, whatever it may be, will be unchequered) India will speak and act as one, and that her contribution will be worthy of her ancient name.

Gentlemen, in circumstances such as those in which we are met together today you will not expect me to deal with the matters of more ordinary interest which in the normal course would have figured in my address to the Central Legislature. I am certain that I shall be voicing the wishes of all of you if I confine my remarks today to the war and to the issues that directly concern or arise out of war. But I feel that it is only proper that I should express my own confidence that, whatever may be the tasks that, as the campaign develops, may fall to the lot of our Defence Forces, whether by sea, by land, or in the air, the response will be one worthy of those glorious traditions the fame and renown of which are world-wide. They are already, as you know, represented overseas, and our fighting forces can claim to be assisting, at the very outset of the war, in holding posts of vast and critical importance.

To the civil population of the country, and to the civil services, whether at the centre or in the provinces, I would say that past experience has shown the spirit in which we may anticipate their answer to the new call which is being made upon them, and to the new tasks which they have to undertake. These are anxious and difficult times, in which heavy burdens, personal as well as general, must necessarily weigh upon all of us whoever and wherever we may be. I am certain that those burdens will be sustained in a manner worthy of our past.

Before I conclude my remarks to you today there are two matters, both of them arising out of the present situation, on which I would say a word. The first is the acceptance by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India of the conclusions of Lord Chatfield's Committee as expressed in the recently published Despatch. That decision marks an epoch in the history of Indian defence. The grave problems which confronted us in the matter of defence consequent on changes in the international situation and the development of modern armaments are now in a fair way to solution. They have been the constant concern of my advisers, and particularly of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, for many months past. The result of the deliberations which have taken place is, on a broad view, satisfactory in the highest degree. In particular I am glad to think not only that the improvements so essential at the present stage of the world's history should be so far advanced, but that, thanks to the most generous measure of help which has been extended to us, the necessity of laying heavy additional burdens on the Indian taxpayer has been avoided. The profound significance of the decisions that have been taken lies in the fact that India,—so largely an agricultural country, which could never, save at the cost of a complete disregard of other calls, have hoped to make available the vast sums of money necessary for re-equipment and modernization,—has, thanks to the gift which she has received from His Majesty's Government, been placed in the same position in relation to the modernization of her army as the great industrial nations of the world.

I will add only one word more, in regard to our federal preparations. Those preparations, as you are aware, are well advanced, and great labour has been lavished on them in the last three years. Federation remains as before the objective of His Majesty's Government; but you will understand, Gentlemen, without any elaborate exposition on my part, the compulsion of the present international situation, and the fact that, given the necessity for concentrating on the emergency that confronts us, we have no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connection with preparations for federation, while retaining federation as our objective.

Had we met in more normal times, there would have been many other matters to mention to you today,—the position of Indians overseas; the various developments of interest and importance which are under consideration in civil administration; the working of provincial autonomy and of the reformed constitution. But, as I have already suggested, I feel certain that at a time when the struggle which is raging elsewhere is uppermost in our thoughts, this is a moment in which that emergency, and matters directly associated with that emergency, must be of predominant and, in a sense, of almost exclusive importance. Our trust must be that, under Providence, the forces of right and of justice will triumph, and that we may be able to take up again those interrupted activities on which we have been engaged for the furtherance of the constructive work of peace, and of the progress and the prosperity of India."

3. CLEAR AND POSITIVE POLICY

Oct. 18,
1939

In describing Britain's war aims, the intentions of the British Government towards India, the method by which Indians were to be associated more closely in the prosecution of the war, Lord Linlithgow in a statement issued on Oct. 18, 1939, repeated His Majesty's Government's "clear and positive" policy that Dominion Status was the natural issue of India's progress. He announced that at the end of the war His Majesty's Government would be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to secure their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications in the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 as might seem desirable.

With the best will in the world, he continued, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations.

The situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in India. Full text :

" Since the outbreak of war and more particularly during the last four weeks I have been in the closest touch with the leaders of political opinion in British India and with representatives of the Princely Order ; and I have spared no effort to acquaint myself by personal discussion with the trend of feeling ; to ascertain the views of the different sections of public opinion in this country on the great questions of the day, and in particular on this question of the basis on which, and the extent to which, India could best co-operate in the prosecution of the war ; and to satisfy myself as to the extent to which a basis of common agreement exists, and as to the manner in which the position, so far as it may still remain obscure, can best be clarified. Matters have now reached a point at which, in my judgment, it would be well that I should make a statement designed, in the light of the discussions which I have had during these past few weeks, to clear the position on the main questions which emerge at the present moment. I would make a preliminary observation. I have had the advantage of a full and frank discussion with no fewer than 52 people—with Mr. Gandhi, with the President and Members of the Congress Working Committee, with Mr. Jinnah and with representative Members of the Muslim League Organization, with the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and with a great variety of persons prominent in the political life of British India.

As was only to be expected, conversations with representatives of so many different points of view revealed marked differences of outlook, markedly different demands, and markedly different solutions for the problems that lie before us. Again, and that too was what might have been expected at a time such as the present, reservations or demands for special protection on one side have tended to be balanced by proposals for still more marked constitutional changes on another. I would ask that these differences of view, deeply and sincerely held, I have not the least doubt, by those who have advanced them to me, should be borne in mind when we consider our present problems, for they have a very direct and obvious relevance to them.

I trust most earnestly that I shall be able to dispel certain misapprehensions which are, I am clear, widely and genuinely held, and that, even if to a degree more limited than has been urged upon me from many quarters, I may be able to clarify the position as regards our hopes and our objectives for India, and to make some little contribution to the removal of the obstacles which existing doubts on that point have caused to that full, generous, and ready co-operation which it is I am certain her anxiety and that of her peoples to give today to a good cause.

The essential matters on which a clarification of the position is beyond any question desired are—

First, What are the objectives of His Majesty's Government in the war? To what extent are they of such a character that India with her long history and great traditions can, with a clear conscience, associate herself with them?

Second, What is the future that is contemplated in the constitutional sphere for the Indian Continent? What are the intentions of His Majesty's Government? Is it possible to define those intentions more precisely and in such a manner as to leave the world in no doubt as to the ultimate status envisaged for India as far as the British Commonwealth is concerned?

Third, In what way can the desire of India and of Indian public opinion for a closer association, and an effective association, with the prosecution of the war best be satisfied?

Let me deal with these questions in the order in which I have stated them. Let me in the first place consider to what extent in existing conditions and at this stage in the development of the campaign on which we are engaged any positive and satisfactory answer admits of being given to the demand for a more precise definition of our objectives. In endeavouring to answer that question I do not propose to touch on the question of our objectives for India. That is a matter which I will deal with separately in answering the second question which I have mentioned above. His Majesty's Government have not themselves yet defined with any ultimate precision their detailed objectives in the prosecution of the war. It is obvious that such a definition can come only at a later stage in the campaign, and that when it does come, it cannot be a statement of the aims of any single ally. There may be many changes in the world position and in the situation that confronts us before the war comes to an end, and much must depend on the circumstances in which it does come to an end, and on the intervening course of the campaign.

The experience of all history shows in these circumstances the unwisdom and the impracticability of precise definition at so early a stage as that which we have now reached. But the fact that, for the reasons I have given, precise definition is not practicable does not mean, as I see it, that there is any real doubt, or any uncertainty, in the minds of the public, whether in India or in the United Kingdom or in any allied country, as to the motives which have actuated us in

entering into the war, and consequently the broad general objectives which we have before us in the campaign which is now being waged. We are fighting to resist aggression whether directed against ourselves or others. Our general aims have been stated by the Prime Minister within the last few days as follows:—'We are seeking no material advantage for ourselves. We are not aiming only at victory, but looking beyond it to laying a foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of each succeeding generation. We, like all the peoples of Europe, long for peace; but it must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and threats.' This statement, I think, clearly establishes the nature of the cause for which we are fighting, and justifies, if justification is needed, the extension by India of her moral support and her goodwill to the prosecution of that cause.

Let me turn now to the second question which has been put to me—the question of India's future and of the lines of her constitutional development. That is a question, I am certain in the light of my conversations, which is of the greatest and most acute interest to all parties and all sections of opinion in this country. As matters stand today, the constitutional position of India and the policy of His Majesty's Government are governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Part III of that Act, which provides for the conferment of Provincial Autonomy on the Provinces of British India, has been implemented. For nearly 2½ years now the Provinces have been conducting their own affairs under the scheme of the Act. That they have done so, on the whole, with great success, even if now and then difficulties have arisen, no one can question. Whatever the political party in power in those provinces all can look with satisfaction on a distinguished record of public achievement during the last 2½ years. The experience that they have had has shown beyond any question that whatever minor problems the application of the scheme of the Act may have presented, whatever difficulties may have confronted us in the operation of the Act from time to time in the provincial sphere, the scheme of the Act is essentially sound, and that it transfers great power and gives great opportunities to popularly elected governments dependent on the support of a majority in their legislatures.

The second stage contemplated by the Act was the reconstitution of the Central Government on such a basis as to achieve the essential goal of Indian unity. The method contemplated for that purpose was the achievement of a Federation of All-India, in which the representatives of all political parties in British India would, together with the Rulers of the Indian States, form a unified Government of India as a whole. I am only too conscious of the severity of the criticisms that have been advanced from many different points of view against the federal scheme and against the arrangements embodied in Part II of the Act. I will say today no more than that, having myself had so close a familiarity not only with the framing of the provisions, but with the preliminary work which has been done with a view to putting them into force, I have throughout believed that the federal scheme in its operation would have turned out as satisfactorily as, broadly

speaking, we can all of us regard the scheme of Provincial Autonomy as having turned out. I will not dilate on that subject today, for our work in connection with the federal scheme has been suspended. But in reaffirming as I do my belief in the essential soundness of the federal aspects of the Act of 1935, I do so with the greater emphasis because of the evidence which the federal provisions of the Act constitute of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to achieve, with the minimum of delay, and on the basis which appears to represent the greatest amount of agreement between the various parties and interests affected, the unity of India, and to advance beyond a further and a most important milestone on the road to India's goal.

Such being the background against which we are working, what are the intentions and aims of His Majesty's Government in relation to India? I cannot do better in reply to that question than to refer to the statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and with their full authority, by the late Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 6th February 1935. That statement makes the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt. It refers to the pledge given in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, and it makes it clear that it was no part of the plan of His Majesty's Government to repeal that pledge. It confirms equally the interpretation placed in 1929 by Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, again on the authority of the Government of the day, on that Preamble, that "the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status." I need not dilate on the words of that statement. They are clear and positive. They are enshrined in the parliamentary record. They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty's Government today, and of their intentions today in this end, the future constitutional development and position of India. I would add only that the Instrument of Instructions issued to me as Governor-General by His Majesty the King-Emperor in May 1937 lays upon me as Governor-General a direction so to exercise the trust which His Majesty has reposed in me "that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within our Empire may be furthered to the end that India may attain its due place among our Dominions."

That is the policy and that is the position. Those are the intentions of His Majesty's Government. Let me go on to say another word about the Act of 1935. That Act was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which it was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed. It was based, as is well known to all of us, on the common labours of British and Indian statesmen, and of representatives of British India as well as of the Indian States over a long period of years. All parties were at one stage or other closely associated with those deliberations. And I can speak from personal experience when I bear tribute to the extreme anxiety of all those of us on whom, in the Joint Select Committee, there fell the more particular responsibility for devising proposals for the consideration of Parliament, to ensure that the fullest account had been taken of all interests; of the views of all political parties; and that nothing had been left undone to ensure that the outcome of our labours reflected the

greatest measure of agreement practicable in the conditions that confronted us.

Be that as it may, His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests, in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable.

I have, I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal. Let me in that connection add that in the conversations I have had, representatives of the minorities have urged most strongly on me the necessity of a clear assurance that full weight would be given to their views and to their interests in any modifications that may be contemplated. On that I need say no more than that, over more than a decade, at the three Round Table Conferences, and at the Joint Select Committee, His Majesty's Government consulted with and had the assistance of the advice of representatives of all parties and all interests in this country. It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect, any important part of India's future Constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament.

That some even more extensive scheme than I have mentioned, some even more widely phrased indication of the intentions of His Majesty's Government, is desired in certain quarters in this country, I am fully aware from the conversations I have had during these last few weeks. That that is a desire held with sincerity, and that those who hold it are convinced that it is in the manner in question that the future progress and development of India and the expressed intentions of His Majesty's Government can best be fulfilled, I fully and readily accept. I would utter one word only of caution. And if

I say that the situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in this country, I do so from no lack of sympathy, and no lack of appreciation of the motives that weigh with the people of India and the ideals that appeal to them. But I would urge that it is essential in matters of this nature, affecting the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the great communities, affecting the Princes of India, affecting the immense commercial and industrial enterprises, whether Indian or European in this country, that the largest measure of agreement practicable should be achieved. With the best will in the world, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations. I am convinced myself, if I may say so with the utmost emphasis, that, having regard to the extent of agreement which in fact exists in the constitutional field, and on this most difficult and important question of the nature of the arrangements to be made for expediting and facilitating the attainment by India of her full status, there is nothing to be gained by phrases which, widely and generally expressed, contemplate a state of things which is unlikely to stand at the present point of political development the test of practical application, or to result in that unified effort by all parties and all communities in India on the basis of which alone India can hope to go forward as one and to occupy the place to which her history and her destinies entitle her. I would ask that these words of caution be not taken as indicating any lack of sympathy on the part of His Majesty's Government for the aspirations of India, or any indifference to the pace of her advance: and I would repeat that His Majesty's Government are but concerned to use their best endeavours, now as in the past, to bring about that measure of agreement and understanding between all parties and all interests in this country which is so essential a condition of progress towards India's goal.

I turn now to the arrangements to be made to secure the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war. India's contribution has already been great, great to a degree which has impressed the imagination of the world. At the head of the list I would put the contribution which India has made in spiritual, and not in material, terms—the support of her peoples for a cause which they can regard as a good and a righteous cause. In the material field equally her contribution is already most significant, and may be greater still. And in the circumstances the desire, the anxiety, of public opinion in India to be associated with the conduct of the war is naturally one with which I personally have throughout felt the greatest sympathy. In the circumstances I have described, the desirability of steps to ensure that leaders of public opinion should be in the closest touch with developments is of the first importance.

I have discussed with the utmost frankness with the leaders of the various parties who have been good enough to come to see me in connection with the constitutional position, by what machinery we could best give effect to this desire. We have examined a variety of expedients, and there has been no hesitation on the part of any of us in assessing the advantages and the disadvantages presented by each of them. I do not propose today to examine those various

alternatives in particular detail. I will only say that in the light of my conversations and of the views (by no means always in accord) of representatives of the great parties and of the Princes I am of opinion that the right solution would be the establishment of a consultative group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the Governor-General would himself preside, which would be summoned at his invitation, and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

This group, for practical reasons, would inevitably be limited in size. But His Majesty's Government contemplate that it should be fully representative, and in particular that its personnel should be drawn by the Governor-General from panels prepared by the various major political parties, from which a selection of individuals to attend meetings of the group would be made by the Governor-General. I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with the Princes on this question. I have no doubt whatever that an arrangement of this nature will most materially contribute to associating the Indian States and British India with the steps which are being taken for the prosecution of the war and with the arrangements that are being made in that connection: and I am confident, too, that in an association of this nature of representatives of all parties and all interests there lies the germ of that fuller and broader association of all points of view in this country which contains in it the seeds of such advantage for the future of India as a whole.

When I spoke to the Central Legislature a month ago, I made an appeal for unity. I would repeat that appeal today. It is my earnest hope that the explanations I have given will have contributed materially to the removal of misunderstandings. Even if on certain points I have not, to my knowledge, been able to give assurances so comprehensive as those which would I know have been welcomed in certain political quarters in India, I would urge insistently that this is not a moment at which to risk the splitting of the unity of India on the rock of particular phrases, and I would press that we should continue to aim at the unity of India even if differences of greater or less significance continue to exist. We live in difficult and anxious days. Great ideals are in issue. Dangers real and imminent face our civilization. Those dangers are as real and as imminent in the case of India as of any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Those ideals are as precious to India as to any country in the Empire or in the world. At this grave moment in the destinies of nations, my prayer to all parties would be not to dissociate themselves from the common effort, but to lend their co-operation and their assistance in the prosecution of the war. There could be no more decisive proof of India's fidelity to her best traditions than the full use of the opportunities afforded to her by the war for concerted endeavour. The ideals we have set before us, the objects to secure which we are engaged in the present struggle,

are such as to command widespread sympathy and widespread support in India. They are in harmony with her past history and her highest traditions. It is my hope that in the grave juncture which we face India will go forward as a united country in support of a common cause."

4. DISCUSSION WITH FIFTY LEADERS

Statement issued on November 5, 1939 :—

Nov. 5,
1939

"The discussions which have been taking place between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have not ended in agreement. No one can regret more than I do that this should be the case, and I think it is only proper, as the issues involved are so important, to recall the history of the last few weeks.

War was declared on the 3rd September. In a broadcast that night I appealed to all parties and all sections in India to co-operate in its prosecution. On the following day I saw Mr. Gandhi in Simla, and I discussed the whole position freely with him. I similarly took immediate steps to see Mr. Jinnah as representing the Muslim League. Nor did I fail to see the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

Thereafter the general question came for consideration before the Congress Working Committee and the Working Committee of the Muslim League. The Working Committee of the Congress met on the 15th of September. They condemned Nazi aggression in decisive terms. But they postponed a final decision so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future, and they invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what were their war aims and how those aims would apply to India, and be given effect to in the present. Mr. Gandhi, expressing his full agreement with the Working Committee's statement, remarked that he had been sorry to find himself alone in seeking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League on the 18th of September similarly asked, 'if full, effective, and honourable co-operation of the Mussalmans is desired', that 'a sense of security and satisfaction' should be created amongst Muslims, and referred in particular to the position of the Muslims in Congress Provinces, and to the necessity for consulting the Muslims fully regarding any change in the existing constitution and securing their consent and approval.

I now again got in touch with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. I decided that, given the great divergence of view which clearly existed between the two major political parties in British India, I must satisfy myself as to the trend of feeling in the country. In pursuance of that object I interviewed over 50 people, representing all parties, communities, and interests. While those conversations were proceeding, the All-India Congress Committee, on the 10th of October, passed a resolution repeating the demand of the Working Committee for a statement by His Majesty's Government

of their war aims and peace aims. They demanded also that India should be declared an independent nation and that present application of this status should be given to the largest possible extent.

I reported my conversations in detail to His Majesty's Government, who at a time of overwhelming pressure have been devoting the closest attention to the problems of India. It was in the light of profound consideration and long discussion that on the 18th October I made a Declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That Declaration emphasized first that Dominion Status remained the goal for India ; second, that His Majesty's Government were prepared to reconsider the scheme of the present Act at the end of the war in consultation with leaders of opinion in India ; third, that His Majesty's Government attached importance to associating public opinion in India with the prosecution of the war, and that for that purpose they contemplated the formation of a Consultative Group, the details of which were to be settled after I had further consulted with Party leaders.

The announcements in my statement are of great importance. Their importance has been belittled, but they represent points of real substance. The debates in Parliament which followed the publication of my statement brought out another important point—the readiness of His Majesty's Government, if certain conditions were secured, to associate Indian opinion in a still closer and more responsible manner with the conduct of the war by a temporary expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council. But the reception in British India both of my Declaration and of the subsequent debates in Parliament was, so far as the Congress was concerned, definitely hostile. The Congress Working Committee on the 22nd of October passed a resolution to the effect that my Declaration was entirely unsatisfactory, and called upon the Congress Ministries in the Provinces to resign. The Muslim League on the same day asked that certain doubts should be removed, and complete clarification of the Declaration secured, subject to which they empowered their President, if fully satisfied, 'to give an assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war.'

I next invited Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. Jinnah to come to see me on November 1st, and I discussed the whole position with them frankly. I had already in my previous conversations discussed with them, as with almost all my visitors, from various aspects the possibility of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council. I now told them that if in regard to association at the Centre, we had been unable to go further than the Consultative Group it was because of the lack of prior agreement between the major communities such as would contribute to harmonious working in the Centre. I added that the manifestoes issued on 22nd October by the Congress Working Committee and the Muslim League had shown only too clearly the gulf that existed between the attitudes of these two great parties.

I begged my visitors in these circumstances to meet and to have discussions among themselves on the provincial position, with a view thereafter to putting forward in agreement proposals which could be considered for some expansion of the Governor-General's Council at the Centre. I told them that I saw no necessity for every detail of the differences between them in the Provinces to be resolved. What was needed was a sufficient resolution of those differences to make the devising of a scheme for harmonious co-operation at the Centre practicable. I begged them in the most earnest manner to spare no endeavour to reach agreement; and I emphasized that this was essentially a question affecting Indians on which agreement between Indians themselves was what I was anxious to secure. I repeated the profound anxiety not only of myself but of His Majesty's Government to leave nothing undone which would contribute to achieve that agreement.

The discussions which I suggested have taken place. But the result to me has been a profound disappointment. There remains today entire disagreement between the representatives of the major parties on fundamental issues. All I will say now is that I am not prepared to accept this failure. I propose in due course to try again, in consultation with the leaders of these great parties and the Princes, to see if even now there may still be the possibility of securing unity. During all the time I have been in India there is nothing I have been more anxious to secure than unity. And unity matters far more to India than is perhaps always realised. Unity, too, means that Indians, whatever their community or whatever their party allegiance, and whether they dwell in British India or in the Indian States, must work together in a common scheme. It is worth a great deal to try to bring that about. I may have been unsuccessful so far. But I will try again. And when I try again I would ask India to remember my difficulties, and give me credit for an earnest goodwill and an earnest desire to assist. We are dealing with a problem that has defeated the united endeavours of the greatest organizations in this country. There are grave differences of view which have to be taken into account, which should be bridged. There are strong and deeply-rooted interests which are entitled to the fullest consideration and whose attitude is not a thing lightly to be brushed aside. There are minorities which are great in numbers as well as great in historic importance and in culture. Those, are all factors to which full weight has to be given. But complex as the problems are, I refuse to regard them as insoluble, and I prefer to believe that, like other human problems, they will yield to patient discussion in a spirit of goodwill. In this belief I am encouraged by the friendly feeling which has pervaded my discussions with the leaders of parties. I would ask the country, and I would ask the leaders of the great political parties and their constituents, who I know have faith in those leaders, and are ably led by them, to give me the help which I so much need if there is to be any hope of overcoming our difficulties and reaching the result which I am sure that we all of us desire."

(The correspondence with party leaders will be found in Part IV).

5. "LIFE IS A BRIDGE"

Nov. 5,
1939

With profound regret Lord Linlithgow announced in his broadcast of Nov. 5, 1939, that the differences and difficulties which threatened "to retard, even to reverse, the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal," had not been resolved as a result of the conversations inaugurated at his instance between leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslim League. But he was not prepared to accept this failure and proposed to try again to see if even now there was the possibility of securing unity. Text of the message :

"It is with profound regret that I have to announce that the conversations which at my instance had been inaugurated between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have so far not achieved what I had hoped. The country is entitled to know in a matter of such moment and at a time of such gravity what the nature was of the proposition which I invited my friends in those two organizations to consider. I shall tomorrow publish correspondence which will make the position perfectly clear. Let me only say that my object has been in these discussions to bring together the leaders of the great parties and to endeavour to secure, as a result of personal contact between them and with what personal assistance I could myself give, that measure of agreement in the Provinces which in their view would enable them to put forward proposals for constructive advance at the Centre for the period of the war such as would be represented by some expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and by the inclusion in it of political leaders.

My Declaration of 18th October contemplated a consultative group. It offered an arrangement relatively so limited as that group only because of the marked divergences of view between the great communities, divergences the existence of which held out no hope of harmonious working at the Centre on the basis of joint membership of my Executive Council at a time when harmonious working was of the first importance. Nevertheless, I am persuaded that that group holds great possibilities for the future ; possibilities, I feel sure, greater than are commonly realised.

It is, I need not say, a profound disappointment to me after so much endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government, on the part of those leaders with whom I have conferred, and of their friends, as well as on my own part, that we have no more to show, and that in so many Provinces we should be left with no choice but to use the emergency provisions inserted for that purpose in the Government of India Act. As for those provisions let me emphasize, that they are an expedient, not a sanction. My own strong feeling in regard to their use I cannot better convey than by a paraphrase of the quotation that appears in Arabic characters upon the great Gateway at Fatehpur Sikri. That quotation says :

'Life is a bridge, a bridge that you shall pass over ;
You shall not build your house upon it.'

Nor in the wider field do I propose to take this disappointment as final, or to abandon the efforts I am making to bring about the friendly adjustment of differences in this country to the end that we can continue to co-operate over the achievement of our common objectives. Differences and difficulties such as those which now threaten to retard—even to reverse—the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal, will not disappear spontaneously, nor will they be conjured away by any refusal to recognise their existence. They will be resolved only by negotiations carried out in a spirit of mutual accommodation and trust and with a firm resolve to succeed.

I will say no more than that tonight. But I would ask for patience and for the goodwill of the Indian people, and of the great political organizations, whether of the members of those organizations or their leaders, in the efforts I propose to continue to make. The difficulties are great. How great they are has been most clearly revealed by the events of the last six weeks. But the attempt to reconcile them is one which it is imperative to make and in which, whether I fail or I succeed, I shall spare no effort to bring about the result which is I know at the heart of all of those who care for India and for her future."

6. "EVERYBODY'S KING"

"During the reign of His late Majesty, that most ancient of our institutions the Throne, gaining immeasurably in power and prestige, was proved as never before to be not only the head and heart of a great democratic constitution but also the keystone of the living arch of the Empire."—Lord Linlithgow in unveiling a statue of His late Majesty King George V in New Delhi on November 14, 1939. Text of the speech :— Nov. 14, 1939

"We have assembled today to honour the memory of a man who was our King and Emperor for twenty-five years. That quarter of a century was not only a generation in our lives, it was an era crowded with great events, and great issues, with great suffering and great joy, with perils and with the triumph of perils overcome.

During the reign of His late Majesty, that most ancient of our institutions the Throne, gaining immeasurably in power and prestige, was proved as never before to be not only the head and heart of a great democratic constitution but also the keystone of the living arch of the Empire.

During his reign that Empire passed through its constitutional adolescence, and India advanced by two great stages towards her destined goal of full and equal partnership with the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

But the great office which His late Imperial Majesty filled was more than a constitutional symbol, and more than an abstract expression of the unity of the Empire. It was to a Throne enriched

by the personality of a good and wise man that all people instinctively turned in time of danger and of rejoicing, as to the human and visible focus of their emotions.

To a high conception of private duty and public service, King George V added the virtues of patience and impartiality, of industry and of courage, of the wisdom which is born of ripe experience and sound commonsense. Such a combination of qualities, precious enough in any man, were of incomparable value in a King. His personal knowledge of and interest in all the peoples of his Empire were unrivalled, and his people, in their turn, were drawn to him by this conscious bond of sympathy, and by the recognition in him of homely tastes and standards which they could share.

The King was everybody's King.

More particularly can we who are gathered here be sensible of this personal relationship with the Sovereign, who, 28 years ago announced his decision to restore Delhi to its ancient birthright and who laid the first stones of his Imperial Capital.

The Memorial which I am about to unveil represents the tribute paid to a beloved Sovereign by his people in India. To its construction rich and poor, princes and peasants alike, contributed according to their means. Its dignity and beauty worthily enshrine their homage and their love. It is in the fitness of things, too, that this Memorial to His late Majesty King George V should stand near that other Memorial raised to the glory of brave men, who in a spirit of service and unwavering devotion which matched his own, answered his call and gave their lives for their country. Beyond that Archway, our late King-Emperor's Statue will look for ever towards the columns and the domes of the Capital which is so peculiarly his own, with the founding of which he associated his hopes for the unity, prosperity, and happiness of the people of his Indian Empire.

Once in his lifetime and in ours the foundations of the civilised world were shaken. In the task of rebuilding and strengthening those foundations his share was not a small one. Now that the test has come again, it is heartening to recall the exhortation which the King-Emperor who led us to victory through the dark days of the last Great War, addressed to his people a few days before he died :

'United by the bonds of willing service,' he said, 'let us prove ourselves both strong to endure, and resolute to overcome.' And, with God's help, so we will."

7. WORLD INTEREST IN INDIAN STATES

"In these days, an ever-increasing interest is being taken by the world at large in the affairs of Indian States", says Lord Linlithgow in a speech at a banquet given at Rewa in his honour on December 12, 1939. "I am confident that Your Highness is well aware how important it is, in these circumstances, that Rulers should not only devote themselves to the redress of any legitimate grievances that may be brought to their notice but should be ready to prove that any undeserved criticisms are not founded on facts." Extracts:

"There is no need for me to add to what Your Highness has said on that subject which, in these days, touches us all so closely—the war. If I may say so, Your Highness has admirably expressed that sense of confidence in the outcome of this tragic conflict, in words which will find an echo in the hearts of all loyal men. Our cause is just and it will prevail.

It is heartening to remember at such a time the traditional loyalty of the Princely Houses of India, and more particularly the splendid traditions of the Rewa House.

Your Highness' forbears have proved themselves again and again to be staunch allies and trusted friends, in illustration of which it is fitting to recall how in 1914 Your Highness' father sent a memorable telegram to enquire what were the orders of the King-Emperor for himself and for his army.

These traditions are being worthily upheld by Your Highness today.

I have been much gratified to learn of the satisfactory progress recently made in the training of the Rewa State Forces and in particular of the high standard of efficiency reached by the Rewa Transport Corps, which is now ready for mobilization. For this state of affairs Your Highness, ably assisted by your Chief of the State General Staff, is responsible, and I know from what I have seen that the loyal assurances which we have heard tonight are ready to be translated into vigorous and effective action as soon as the necessity may arise.

Your Highness was kind enough to refer in appreciative terms to what I have endeavoured to do for the development of improved methods of agriculture and stock-breeding in this country. My interest in these matters is indeed profound, and I am aware that, although there are in Rewa very considerable industrial resources, both developed and undeveloped, it is agriculture which has always been and must always be the mainstay of this State.

I am therefore confident that Your Highness and your advisers will always be prepared, so far as local resources may permit, to afford to the agriculturists of the State opportunities to benefit by the new methods and schemes which have been evolved by the Central organization set up for this purpose.

But, for the agriculturist improved methods of production are not the whole story. No less important is the existence of adequate

means of communication and transport for the conveyance of his produce to the most profitable markets, and I listened with close attention to what Your Highness had to say on this subject. In a State of the size of Rewa, with its 13,000 square miles of territory, which is still, as Your Highness has pointed out, ill-served by railways, the development of roads is a matter of vital importance, and I congratulate Your Highness for the keen interest which you have consistently taken in this problem and for the very large measure of success which has already attended your efforts.

I am very glad to hear that the Central Road Fund was able to assist these efforts materially and that the money which was available from that source has been spent to the best possible advantage.

I trust that Your Highness' ambition to see a new railway built through this State may not be too long delayed.

There are undoubtedly difficulties to be overcome, and Your Highness has mentioned one of the greatest of these—the present exigencies of the war. But I fully realise the importance of this matter, and I am interested to learn from Your Highness that a project is actually under consideration and that some surveys have been carried out. I will gladly repeat the assurance which was given to Your Highness by my predecessor, Lord Willingdon, that any project of this nature which may be presented to my Government in a final form will be most carefully and sympathetically considered.

Lady Linlithgow has asked me to thank Your Highness for the very kind references you have made to her and to her work in India.

We are delighted to learn that, as a result of the Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal, a sum of over Rs. 29,000 is now available for fighting this scourge in Rewa.

The question of how this sum can best be utilised is, I know, under the immediate consideration of Your Highness, and my wife and I will be interested to learn in due course the form which Your Highness' decision will take. We sincerely hope that it will be to the lasting benefit of the people of Rewa.

Before I conclude, I should like to take this opportunity of complimenting Your Highness, if I may, on the energy and ability which you have applied to the administration of your State. In these days, an ever-increasing interest is being taken by the world at large in the affairs of Indian States. I am confident that Your Highness is well aware how important it is, in these circumstances, that Rulers should not only devote themselves to the redress of any legitimate grievances that may be brought to their notice, but should be ready to prove that any undeserved criticisms are not founded on facts."

8. THE LATE LORD BRABOURNE

Speech at the dedication of the tablet to the memory of the late Lord Brabourne on December 24, 1939 : **Dec. 24, 1939**

" Most Reverend Father in God,—Before asking you to dedicate this tablet to Lord Brabourne's memory I would wish briefly to recall the record of his service to his country, and the qualities that so greatly endeared him to all who knew him and that made his early death so acute a loss to his friends.

Educated at Wellington and at the Royal Military Academy, Lord Brabourne served with great distinction in the European war, in the course of which he was thrice mentioned in despatches, in addition to receiving the Military Cross.

Elected in 1931 to the House of Commons, his high quality and his great promise drew attention to him from the first. He served with Sir Samuel Hoare, then Secretary of State for India, during a period of the first importance in the shaping of the future constitution of India. In 1933 he was selected for the high office of Governor of Bombay, and the work he did as Governor of that great Presidency until he resigned his Governorship in 1937 on becoming Governor of Bengal, fully vindicated the wisdom of the choice. In Bengal, though he had served there for little more than a year at the time of his premature death, he had already confirmed, and if possible enhanced, the distinguished reputation he had early established.

So much for the record of his public work ; a record sufficiently striking in the case of a man of 43 ; a record which clearly shows that there is no distinction and no eminence in the service of the Crown to which he might not have hoped to rise. But no picture of Lord Brabourne would be a complete one if it did not touch on his personal qualities. He united, in a peculiar and unusual degree, great capacity for work, a marked quickness of apprehension, wide sympathy and an outstanding personal charm. His readiness to spare no effort in any good cause, his anxiety at all times to give to his country and to his friends the best that was in him, are known to all of us who had the honour and the privilege of working with him. Those qualities, combined with a solidity and a balance of judgment, rare at any time, noteworthy in particular in a man still so young, held forth the greatest hope for future years. Whether on public or on personal grounds, his loss is one that cannot be replaced to his country or his friends. His record, and his work remain an encouragement and an inspiration to us all.

Most Reverend Father in God, on behalf of his relatives and the people of this Province, of which he was the much loved Governor, I request that you will graciously dedicate this tablet to the memory of the late Michael Herbert Rudolph Knatchbull, Baron Brabourne."

9. OBLIGATIONS OF THE NOBILITY

Jan. 4,
1940

Lord Linlithgow commends to the Rajkumar College (college for the boys of ruling families of Indian States) the Sanskrit motto: "The King has honour in his own kingdom, but the wise man has honour everywhere." Extract from speech at the prize giving ceremony of the college on January 4, 1940 :

"I was particularly struck with that part of the speech of the President of your General Council, the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh, in which he explained that there had been a tendency in recent years to abandon the old idea that a highly exclusive school is necessarily the best for boys who belong to Rulers' families. The question of the best kind of education is probably one of the oldest subjects of debate among schoolmasters and philosophers. It can, perhaps, never be finally answered—and fortunately so, for it is a matter which we should constantly be turning over in our minds and approaching from fresh angles. In any case I do not intend to produce any ready-made answer of my own today, but this much I should like to say, that I most cordially agree with those of the Governing Body and the Ruling Chiefs who believe that the change which has opened the gates of the College to boys of other than Raj families cannot fail to be one of immense and mutual benefit to all who are educated here.

One of the obligations of nobility, whether of class or character, is leadership, which in India as anywhere else in the world is not worth the name, and may even be a positive danger, if it is not inspired by sympathy, tolerance and understanding; and these virtues are not plants which can be raised in the shelter of a green-house, but in the open fields. Your College has a Sanskrit motto which might be translated thus: "The King has honour in his own kingdom, but the wise man has honour everywhere." That is a good motto and an appropriate one, and as applied to this College and to the boys who are trained here for the outside world its meaning, I should think, is clear. A wise ruler will aim at earning respect beyond the boundaries of his State, and a young man who wishes to make his mark in the world, whether as a good ruler or as a good citizen, will be fitted for it by training in a College such as yours is planned to be, which eschews exclusiveness and concentrates on broadening the mind and enriching the character.

I listened with close attention to what you too, Mr. Principal, had to say on the subject of first-class schools for first-class boys, and I think we can all accept without hesitation your definition of what such a school should be. I am extremely glad to hear that the conditions which you described are those which the Governing Body and Staff of the Rajkumar College have set before them to attain. Your definition and the objects of which you spoke might equally be those of any great British Public School, and I for my part am happy to know that the Rajkumar College is not the only college in India which has embarked on a process of conversion

to a Public School model. No matter what criticism may be levelled against the Public School system, there is no doubt whatever that the Public Schools of Great Britain have been at least as successful as any other educational system in the world in producing the qualities of leadership and initiative, a sense of responsibility and of public duty, all qualities which are to be found, and must be developed too, among those who are to lead India forward to her rightful place among the free and self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

A great many prizes have been distributed today. Those who have received them have their recognition and their encouragement to do still better, and to those who have not been awarded prizes I have this to say. Do not be disappointed, but do your best always and another time you will succeed. And remember that you will be lucky, I may say unique, if after you have left school you find that your good work, even your best work, invariably wins a prize. Your reward, as you will come to understand if you do not understand it now, lies in your endeavour and in your work itself.

We are living in troubled times. None can see far into the future, or can pretend to guess what new order, social, political or economic, may emerge for the world in the next few years. At such a time individuals, communities, nations, and all mankind are in desperate need of the virtues of courage, self-confidence, mutual trust and understanding, which alone can lead the peoples of the world to build again what has been shattered, and bind themselves together more strongly in a spirit of unity, brotherhood and goodwill. These virtues, I believe, the Rajkumar College is doing its best to instil and to evoke, and India will have cause to be grateful to it and to all likeminded institutions."

10. CONTENTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Speech at a dinner given by His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie at Government House, Nagpur, on January 5, 1940. Extract : Jan. 5, 1940

"I do not propose to make a speech tonight : nor I am sure, do you expect me to do so. But I would like to thank you sincerely for your very kind references to the work which at one time or other it has been my privilege to do, or to try to do, on behalf of India—references which I deeply value. Let me say, too, how great an encouragement, and how great a satisfaction, it was to me to hear from you tonight that the servants of the Crown in the Central Provinces and Berar are satisfied as to the closeness of my concern for the safeguarding at all times of their legitimate interests. None of us on whom the burden of administration has fallen will ever under-estimate the importance to good government of the contentment, and the confidence, of those public services on whose efficiency and whose experience, so much must in the last resort at all times depend.

I thank you most warmly, too, on my wife's behalf for the reference you have made to her appeal for aid in combating the scourge of tuberculosis. Nothing has been closer to her heart during all the time that she has been in India than the alleviation of the misery and the distress inseparable from its ravages. She is happy indeed to think that the response to her appeal should have been so generous and so spontaneous, and that there should be so good a prospect in the result of a contribution of real value to the prevention and the treatment of tuberculosis in India."

11. THE WAR AND INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS

Jan. 6,
1940

Keen regret that the outbreak of war should have resulted in even the temporary interruption of the harmonious working of provincial autonomy and of the orderly progress of India as a whole to the goal of Dominion Status was expressed by Lord Linlithgow replying to Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy's speech at a dinner party given by the latter in honour of His Excellency at Nagpur on January 6, 1940. His Excellency also indicated briefly the nature of the difficulties which beset the path of constitutional progress in India. Extracts :

"I had always hoped that I should be so fortunate as to visit the Central Provinces at a time when general pressure was less acute, and when conditions alike in the local political and in the international sphere were happier, and likely to give me more opportunity of visiting the outlying parts of this province and of seeing with my own eyes the various directions in which it is moving forward ; of examining the agricultural problem on the spot ; and, if possible, of paying a visit to some of those industrial enterprises to which you have referred. Fate has ordained otherwise, and my visit has fallen at a time when, as you have rightly reminded us, not only in the local political sphere, but in the sphere of international affairs we are confronted by grave problems calling for the closest attention and for the anxious consideration of all of us on whom any burden of responsibility for the handling of the affairs of India and of every part of India rests today.

You have alluded, Sir Maneckji, in feeling terms to the war situation. It is only too present to all of us. It is indeed a situation which can never for a moment be out of our thoughts, and the existence of which must for the time being dominate all others. It is a situation which, as I recently remarked elsewhere, is of profound and lasting importance to India.

India cannot but be concerned in the most vital degree, whether in the material or in the political sphere, in the success of the Allies. The realisation of the ideals and of the aims which the Allies have set before themselves in entering into this war, and in its prosecution, are equally of profound significance and concern to a country which, whatever internal political differences there may for the moment be, has never hesitated to make clear in the most unmistakable manner the whole-heartedness of its support for the objectives which

animate the Empire and the Allies in the struggle in which we are now engaged. Nothing could be more encouraging to me than to feel that there is so little difference of opinion—indeed I should have said so marked a unanimity of opinion—in India as to the justice of our cause, and as to the compelling nature of the motives which have actuated us in entering the war.

It is with all the greater satisfaction in those circumstances that I am able to pay a tribute tonight not only to the material assistance which the Central Provinces and Berar have in one way or another so readily lent to India's war effort; but to the assurance you have given me, speaking as one of the most respected and most eminent citizens of this province, of the readiness of all concerned to spare no effort to play their part and to lend the utmost aid in their power to the realisation of the aims which we have set before us.

You have reminded us in the speech which you have just made that difficulties confront us today, difficulties not merely in the international, but also in the internal Indian sphere. I am only too conscious of that fact. I could wish that things had been otherwise, fully as I accept the sincerity of the approach to this question of participation in the war of those who have felt doubts, doubts which it has not so far been wholly possible to resolve, as to the position of His Majesty's Government.

You have truly remarked that it has been to me a profound disappointment that the outbreak of the war at the juncture at which it happened should have resulted in even the temporary interruption of the harmonious working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy, and that, too, it should have been responsible for the interruption of the orderly progress of India as a whole through the stages indicated in the Government of India Act of 1935, to that goal of Dominion Status, which it has always been the wish of His Majesty's Government that she should achieve at the earliest possible date and which it is today still their wish to see attained at the earliest possible moment that circumstances render practicable.

We find ourselves as I speak to you tonight faced with a situation marked by many anomalies. India is whole-hearted in her support for the ideals for which His Majesty's Government are fighting the war. She is making a great contribution whether in men or in materials, to the prosecution of the war. She is ready and anxious to make a contribution greater still—indeed not the least of the problems which have presented themselves to me since the outbreak of the war has been the difficulty, given the turn which the war has taken, of making the fullest use of offers so generous as those which I have received from every province and every State in India.

Yet internally we have had to face in so many provinces, including this province in which I speak tonight, the temporary employment of the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935, and a reversion, as you have indicated, to a form of government resembling far more closely in very many ways that which operated before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms than can be regarded with

equanimity by any of us who are anxious to promote the political development of India and the achievement of her full status in the Empire.

Speaking recently I ventured to remark that there were times when silence was better than speech so far as constitutional development was concerned : and while I am aware that that view has in certain quarters been criticized, nothing has happened in the last three weeks to lead me materially to alter it, or to feel that much more may not stand to be lost than to be gained by an over-emphasis in public on the difficulties that may lie before us, real as they are, or by too much discussion on the public platform of those difficulties and of the means by which they can best be solved. The difficulties themselves are only too present to all of us.

The complexity of the factors that have to be reconciled ; the importance of the communities, the parties and the interests concerned ; the necessity for applying a balanced view to a situation of such intricacy ; the careful planning and the foresight called for in devising solutions of problems the roots of which lie so deep and the consequences of the answer to which carry us so far into the future, need no emphasis from me. The more strictly political side apart, the communal problem to which you have referred in impressive words, and the importance of which I accept as fully as I deplore its existence, is not the least of those matters.

In circumstances such as these, I would only repeat my own anxiety to co-operate in every possible way in finding a solution, and my confidence that, given its vital necessity to the prosperity, the progress, and the contentment of India, a solution must be found, and a solution consistent with the unity of India, a solution which will bring together not only the great communities inside British India, but the Indian States with the marked, if different, contribution which they are in a position to make, and which it is so necessary that they should make, to an Indian Dominion.

I know, too,—as you are aware I have spared no pains to familiarize myself with the outlook and with the point of view of representatives of all communities and parties, and of the Indian States—how many conflicting elements remain to be harmonized.

But I cannot feel that it should be beyond our capacity, however great the difficulties, to bring about their harmonization, even if the process of harmonizing is less rapid than we could have wished. Had we but been able to pursue the course devised over so many years with the assistance of the representatives of India, I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that we should by now be within reach of the goal. That has not been possible, and we must make the best of the situation as we find it, though in dealing with that situation we can be thankful that over a period of years provincial autonomy has given an opportunity to Indian political leaders of handling great problems, of exercising real power, and of enhancing that political experience the importance of which is so immense in relation to the ultimate constitutional position of this country.

I will say no more tonight than this—that differences exist as we all know too well: but that we should do better, as I have ventured to urge in a different connection before, to concentrate on points of agreement rather than on points of difference: that we should be wise to think at all times of India as a single whole, and to have in our minds the desire to do what in our power lies to hold her together, and to see her progress on the path of political and constitutional development. In the efforts which I made to help her in that direction I have had great assistance from the most eminent political leaders in this country. I hope and I am confident that I shall continue to receive that assistance. I would only urge the importance—if I may without giving rise to misunderstanding say so—of avoiding in these delicate political matters too unbending a rigidity: of keeping an open mind, of a readiness to compromise; of that courage and that sense of responsibility to one's country and for its future, that readiness to make adjustment with opposing interests, whether the degree of that opposition be great or small, which are the true test and the true sign of the deeper political wisdom.

The sinking of differences, the preparation of those conditions and circumstances which bring about the establishment of Dominion Status, is, as you, Sir Maneckjee, have remarked tonight, the course of wisdom in present circumstances, and any help that I am capable of affording to achieve that ideal will be forthcoming in the greatest measure practicable.

Let me turn from the political field to another matter vitally affecting the life and the happiness of the inhabitants of this country on which you have touched tonight. I refer to the appeal for funds and for an organization to deal with the problem of tuberculosis. No words can overestimate the significance of that problem in its relation to the daily life, the happiness, the contentment, the physical well-being, of millions of human beings, men, women, and children, throughout India.

Lady Linlithgow has asked me to say how deeply she appreciates the generous reference which you have made in your speech to her own work in this connection. She has asked me to say, too, how greatly she has valued the ready response to her appeal in the Central Provinces and Berar—and as you know, 95 per cent. of all sums raised locally are applied for tuberculosis work in the province itself—and the interest which has so clearly shown itself in many parts of the province in the prevention and the treatment of a disease which represents so great a scourge."

12. A NEW HIGH COURT

Jan. 6,
1940

"Justice administered without fear or favour is a true index of the freedom of the land in which it flourishes. It is the foundation on which freedom builds and where it is lacking, material prosperity, disciplined patriotism or military might are facades of lath and plaster, worth nothing at all," declared Lord Linlithgow in opening the Nagpur High Court buildings on January 6, 1940. "Of this we can today recognise only too clearly the tragic proof in those parts of the world whence justice, as we know it, has been driven forth." Proceeding :

"Here in Nagpur, however, a new and worthy House of Justice has been built, and here the laws of India, ancient but vital institutions, will find new space for living and growing, through interpretation by your judges, and the precedents established in your courts.

I listened with much interest to your account, Sir, of the history of judicial administration in this Province. It is over three quarters of a century since the first Judicial Commissioner was appointed, but for the greater part of that period, during which there were developments of the utmost importance in the legislative and executive machinery of the administration, and in the territorial and commercial expansion of the Province, the judicial administration made little advance. The Letters Patent of four years ago were conferred in response to a very intelligible demand for an independent judiciary. A chartered High Court is symbolical of the King's Majesty as the fount of justice, and it is easy to sympathise with a public opinion that demanded this valuable safeguard.

You have described the building, Sir, as a poem in stone. If its beauty has as great a functional value as it is satisfying to the eye—and your description leads me to believe that it has—it is indeed a work of art, and the architect, the builders and craftsmen, and the material itself, of which so great a part comes from your own Province, should have our most sincere congratulations.

It is perhaps in keeping with that tradition in Eastern art which holds that the work of man should not presume to rival the perfection of God's handiwork, and therefore should be incomplete in some detail, that the building as we see it now should be without its dome. The feature has been delayed, I understand, for the very sensible reason that in its original design it was too heavy for the supporting pillars. Let justice be done though the heavens fall, as you, Sir, have reminded me but if the dome were to have fallen while you were engaged upon your business, I doubt if the most imperturbable judge, lawyer or litigant among you, could have quoted, as calmly as a headmaster of my old school, when a map of the world collapsed about his head :

*Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruine."*

13. THE ORIENT CLUB SPEECH

A declaration that the British Government's objective for India had been made clear as full Dominion Status of "the Statute of Westminster variety," an assurance that their concern was to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing constitution and Dominion Status, and a fervent appeal to the "leaders of the great political parties of India" to help to end as early as possible the present state of affairs, were made by Lord Linlithgow in a speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940. Jan 10, 1940 Text:

"The first thing, and the thing that must be the most prominent in the minds of everyone of us, is the outbreak of war, with all its consequences for good and for evil of every kind.

So far as India is concerned, there has indeed been a noble response.

I have been inundated with offers of men, of money, of material assistance of every kind; and the fullest advantage practicable in the circumstances in which this war is being fought has been taken of those very generous offers. It has been a great happiness to me to know how widely and how fully they have been appreciated at home and throughout the Empire, and I am glad to think that the magnitude of our war effort should be so fully recognized.

We have, I suspect, a long way to go yet. We may have to face many very difficult and awkward situations. It may well be that the real test still lies ahead of us. But we may be thankful that all the preparatory work done in our own restricted field in India has proved to have been on the right foundations: and every day that passes makes the position of the Allies stronger, as it makes, I believe, that of the enemy weaker. Every day, too, makes clearer to the world the inevitability of the decision which we took at the beginning of September, and the vital necessity of our attaining our objectives, and of our protecting and securing the position of those high ideals for which we are fighting today.

When I had the pleasure of meeting you a year ago, I spoke of the working of Provincial Autonomy, and the success which the scheme of provincial autonomy under the Act of 1935 had achieved in this great Presidency. I said, too, that Provincial Autonomy was only one part of the scheme.

I emphasized the importance of bringing into effect without any delay the scheme of Federation which was the coping stone of the constitutional structure embodied in the Act. I said that it was all the more important that we should secure Federation with as little delay as practicable because of the deterioration in the international situation, and I urged that we should press on with it with all the energy in our power, since, whatever its shortcomings, the federal scheme was the scheme that held out the best hope of swift constitutional progress and of the unity of India.

We meet today in very different circumstances.

To my deep regret there has been in this province a temporary interruption in the normal working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy. We have no longer in power Ministers backed by a majority in the legislature ; and the administration is perforce being carried on under the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935. No one regrets, I am sure, more than you do yourselves that this should be the case, or that at a time when the burdens and the responsibilities to be carried on behalf of the public are greater than they have ever been, Ministers should not be in power to assist in carrying those burdens. We can but trust that this interruption will be temporary and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the constitution in the provincial sphere will before long be practicable.

But in the provincial field we have at any rate been able to bring into being, and to test by practical application, those portions of the Act of 1935 which devolve great powers and responsibilities on elected Ministers. We had not reached that point in the Centre when the war broke out, though our preparations were being pushed on with all possible energy.

At the beginning of the war, which we had every reason to believe would develop on lines which would make it immediately necessary to concentrate every atom of our energy on the prosecution of the war to the exclusion of all other matters, the course of wisdom, much as all of us might regret it, was clearly for the time being to suspend the preparations afoot for the establishment of the Federation of India.

I deeply regret myself that that should have been necessary, since whatever criticisms on one ground or another have been levelled against the scheme of federation in the Act, could it but have been brought into operation, it would have provided us with the solution of almost all the problems that confront us today—the presence of Ministers at the Centre ; the association of the Indian States—a point of such vital importance to British India—in a common government ; the representation of all minorities on the lines elaborated after a full consideration of the claims and proposals of the minorities themselves ; and the unity of India.

You know only too well how things have gone since September. I do not propose to dilate on that today.

As you know, in response to requests for a clarification of the aims of His Majesty's Government and of their intentions towards India, His Majesty's Government have made it clear, both through statements issued by myself, and in Parliament, that their objective for India is full Dominion Status, Dominion Status, too, of the Statute of Westminster variety ; that, so far as the intermediate period is concerned (and it is their desire to make that intermediate period the shortest practicable), they are ready to consider the reopening of the scheme of the Act of 1935 so soon as practicable after the war with the aid of Indian opinion : that they are prepared in the meantime, subject to such local adjustments between the leaders of the great communities as may be necessary to ensure harmonious working,

and as an immediate earnest of their intention, to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders: and that they are ready and anxious to give all the help they can to overcome the difficulties that confront us and that confront India today.

But those assurances have not, to my profound regret, dissipated the doubts and the uncertainties which have led to the withdrawal from office of the Congress Ministries, and which have made it necessary in seven provinces to make use of the emergency provisions of the Act.

The pronouncements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government since the beginning of the war make clear, I think, beyond any question whatever, their intentions and their anxiety to help.

The federal scheme of the Act was itself designed as a stage on the road to Dominion Status: and under that scheme, devised, I would remind you, long before there was any question of a war, very wide and extensive powers were to be placed in the hands of a Central Government representing the Indian States as well as British India, and constituted on a very broad basis indeed.

There can be no question of the good faith and the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in the efforts they have made to deal with the constitutional future of India.

I well know that there are many people who press for swifter and more radical solutions of the problems before us.

I do not question the sincerity or the good intentions of those who feel that way.

But all those of us who have to deal with problems of this magnitude know only too well how often we are attracted by apparently simple solutions; how often those apparently simple solutions, when more closely investigated, reveal unexpected difficulties, and difficulties, too, of unexpected importance, anxious as we may all be to take what seems to be the shortest course.

Short cuts, as many of us know to our cost, are too often prone in experience to lead to a considerable waste of time. Nowhere I fear is that truer than of the political problems of India, for there are difficulties, and real difficulties, of which we are all aware, and which we all regret. But they will not be avoided or disposed of by ignoring their existence.

The wise course is to face up to those difficulties and to try to find a solution of them that will result in the subsequent co-operation of all the parties and interests concerned. We are, after all, dealing not with one political party only, but with many.

Nor must we forget the essential necessity, in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any constitutional scheme.

There are the insistent claims of the minorities.

I need refer only to two of them—the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes—there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past ; the fact that their position must be safeguarded, and that those guarantees must be honoured.

I know that you appreciate the difficulty of the position of the Viceroy and the difficulty of the position of His Majesty's Government, faced as they are with strong and conflicting claims advanced by bodies and interests to whose views the utmost attention must be paid, and whose position must receive the fullest consideration. Justice must be done as between the various parties, and His Majesty's Government are determined to see justice done.

But I would ask my friends in the various parties to consider whether they cannot get together and reach some agreement between themselves which would facilitate my task, and the task of His Majesty's Government, in dealing with this vital question of Indian constitutional progress : and I would venture again to emphasize the case for compromise, the case for avoiding too rigid an approach to the problems such as those with which we are dealing today.

As to the objective there is no dispute. I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support, and I am ready, when the time comes, to give every help that I personally can. His Majesty's Government are not blind—nor can we be blind here—to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position into that constitutional position which is represented by Dominion Status. But here again I can assure you that their concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status.

The offer is there. The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one, and one of which they are, I know, fully conscious. They have helped me in the past. I ask today that they will help me again and help India, and I ask for their co-operation and their assistance in terminating at as early a date as possible a state of things which all who have faith in the virtue of constitutional progress must deplore ; a state of things which every lover of India—everyone who is concerned to advance her interests—must feel today to be a bitter disappointment."

14. ARTS EXHIBITION

Jan. 12,
1940

Speech at the opening of the Annual Exhibition of the Bombay Arts Society on January 12, 1940 :

"I thank you most heartily for your cordial welcome and I can assure you that I am very sensible of the special distinction of being the first Viceroy to have opened this Exhibition. I have several times seen fine reproductions of the exhibits shown here in recent years, and this made me all the more anxious to come and see the Bombay Arts Society's Exhibition for myself.

It is a well-established institution which last year celebrated its Golden Jubilee. What changes the world will have seen by the time this Exhibition has reached its Diamond Jubilee it would be rash to prophesy, but if history is any guide there is reason to hope that Indian Art will by then be rising to, will perhaps have reached, a new peak of excellence, greater than any previously attained in her long artistic tradition.

Art, as Sir Cowasji has told us, requires patronage and encouragement, and therefore an atmosphere of prosperity in which to flourish. To this I would add that a period of great art must also be a period of confidence, unity and ordered progress, when high hopes and great achievements quicken the imagination and lift up the spirit.

Art never thrives, though its seeds may continue to live, during a period of intellectual complacency or of political chaos, such as, those which followed the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the end of the Moghul Period. Greek Art of the Periclean Age and the Art of the Italian Renaissance rose out of a trough of conventionalism on the upsurging of a great wave of fresh ideas and new values, of bold and courageous experiment. India, in this first half of the twentieth century, stands, I believe, on the threshold of just such another period, and this is reflected not only in a revival of interest in art and artistic appreciation, but also in the new vigour and creative impulse which are apparent in Indian Art today.

Moreover, I am optimistic enough to believe that out of the struggle in which we are engaged today a new world will be born ; a world of security, confidence, prosperity and co-operation ; a world in which the arts of peace can flourish. Let us hope so, at any rate, for, paradox though it may seem, that is what we are fighting for."

15. INDIAN UNITY—H.M.G.'s AIM

The fact that His Majesty's Government had been obliged to suspend the preparations for initiating Federation in India did not mean any abatement of their desire to secure Indian unity, was emphasised by Lord Linlithgow speaking at a banquet in his honour at Baroda on Jan. 17, 1940. Nor could that unity be complete without the co-operation of the Indian States. Extracts :

Jan. 17,
1940

"The postponement of my visit to Baroda last year caused me great disappointment which was followed by profound sadness when I learnt last February of the demise of His late Highness. I realised fully how great must be the loss to Baroda State. Your Highness has rightly said that his life was dedicated to the service of his people, who loved and revered him, and his death has left a void that can never be filled.

I know that in your personal grief you must feel the loss irreparable, but with clear foresight His late Highness took pains to ensure that his successor should be well versed in the intricacies of administration and fully equipped to build on the foundations of wise and sympathetic rule which he had so firmly laid. It must therefore

have been a solace to him in his last days to know that in Your Highness he had a successor able immediately to take up the reins of Government. I am fully confident that with his life as an inspiration, Your Highness will, in the course of time, fill in the hearts of your subjects, that void to which you have referred.

In this anxious time of war it must give great comfort to His Majesty to receive such constant evidence of the devotion of the Princes of India. Your Highness' offer placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's disposal was one of the first of its kind I had the pleasure of receiving and conveying to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I know that when the need arises Baroda will not be found wanting in any respect.

I listened with much appreciation to Your Highness' remarks on the question of Federation, and I am glad to think that Your Highness shares the view of that sage and experienced statesman, His Highness the late Maharaja, as to the soundness of the line of constitutional advance represented by the federal section of the Act, and the importance and significance of the federal scheme in its relation to the unity of India—a consideration that has at all times been present to His Majesty's Government.

It was to me regrettable that the outbreak of war and the impossibility of judging on what lines the war was likely to proceed should have left us with no option but to suspend our federal preparations; but the fact that those preparations have been suspended does not for a moment mean that His Majesty's Government have in anyway modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy.

I have noted with satisfaction the constitutional and fiscal reforms to which His late Highness gave effect in recent years and which are being actively implemented by yourself. May every success attend Your Highness' efforts in this direction.

I congratulate Your Highness on the conditions of prosperity and happiness which obviously prevail in your State and I note that in effecting reductions in your Civil List Your Highness has set a personal example of that prudent economy which enables resources to be conserved for the provision of improvements in the State which the masses of your people may enjoy.

In addition to the improvements your Highness has mentioned, which are of great importance, I have been impressed by the broad-minded policy adopted in Baroda in the matters of education, public health, agriculture, women's franchise, infant-welfare, cottage industries and other beneficial activities too numerous to mention now, but of which I have seen evidence during my stay in the State and in all of which Lady Linlithgow and myself have been deeply interested.

Baroda State has over 2,500 schools, 109 medical institutions, including a very advanced General hospital, a mental and leper

asylum, a justly famous library with its ancillary system of rural circulating libraries and a fine museum and art gallery. These public services are available gratis and have been provided concurrently with reduced taxation. The fact that in spite of such reduced taxation the gross revenue has actually increased clearly demonstrates that prudent economic policy is increasing the wealth of the State and its subjects.

I was grieved to learn of the distress caused in some parts of the State by the partial failure of the monsoon, but I have heard of the speedy measures of relief adopted and that this was rendered possible as a result of wise husbanding of the State's resources over many years by means of which a considerable Reserve Fund has been built up from which expenditure on such emergencies can be met without disorganising the normal functions of Government. I have in the past, impressed upon my Political representatives the desirability of encouraging such prudence in the Indian States with which they are in relations and I trust that the example set by Baroda will be widely followed."

16. PRINCES' PLEDGE

After dealing with the "most significant and the most important event" since the Chamber of Princes had met the previous year, the event of "overwhelming concern" to all, the outbreak of the war, and expressing his genuine appreciation of the Princes' support in the emergency, Lord Linlithgow expressed the earnest hope that Their Highnesses would not cease to give their continual and close attention to the perfecting of their administrative machinery. The value of administrative reform remained as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles where they had for the time being subsided would not recur. He again drew Their Highnesses' particular attention to the desirability of the creation of joint services where small States in the same group were unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration. A beginning had been made in the direction. And it was of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction. Text of speech to the Chamber of Princes on March 11, 1940:

Mar. 11,
1940

"The most significant and the most important event since we met a year ago, the event of overwhelming concern to all of us here today is the outbreak of the war. His Majesty's Government continued till the last moment to spare no effort to resolve the difficulties that had arisen in the international sphere by peaceful means. If in the result their efforts were unsuccessful they can at least feel that they had left nothing undone and that no share of the responsibility for plunging the world into a conflict, the disastrous effects of which must last for many years to come, can fairly rest upon them.

The impact of the war has found the Princes of India, true to their traditions, staunchly loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor. They have placed their forces, their personal services, and all their

resources at the disposal of the Crown, and they have contributed in every way open to them to the Empire's cause. Those offers have, I can assure Your Highnesses, been most deeply and genuinely appreciated, and, as you are aware, in every case in which it has been possible to accept them, they have been accepted with deep and real gratitude. Many of the Rulers of the Indian States have expressed the utmost eagerness to be allowed to serve personally in the theatre of war. I sympathise sincerely with them in their disappointment that it has not as yet been found possible to take advantage of these offers of personal service. Your Highnesses will be aware that so far the course of hostilities has differed very materially from that of the last war; up to the present there has been no substantial call on the manpower of India. If conditions alter in this respect, Your Highnesses may rest assured that your offers, so deeply valued, will be remembered.

Since our last meeting many of Your Highnesses have had to face difficult problems consequent on the succession of poor monsoons which has visited so many parts of India; and among those areas which have been particularly affected have been large tracts of Rajputana and Kathiawar. In the steps they have taken to meet this calamity, the Governments of all the important States concerned have made full and liberal use of their reserves, and they have devised widespread and well-organised plans for the relief of suffering. It is my earnest hope that this year the States affected will receive a timely and sufficient rainfall, and that the sufferings of the people and the anxiety of the States Governments will be brought to an end.

As Your Highnesses are aware, His Majesty's Government felt on the outbreak of war that in the conditions then prevailing and on a review of the probable course of hostilities, they had no option but to hold in suspense, however reluctantly, the work in connection with the preparations for Federation, while retaining Federation as their objective. But the suspension of those preparations does not mean that His Majesty's Government, to repeat the words which I used a month or two ago at Baroda, 'have in any way modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy.'

Your Highnesses are well aware of my views on the question of Federation, and of its many advantages from the point of view not only of the Indian States but of India as a whole, and in particular of the unity of India. I am confident that you will appreciate the importance of continuing to apply your minds to this vitally important problem and to the questions that arise in connection with it.

When we last met I spoke very frankly and very directly to Your Highnesses on the subject of setting the houses of the States in order. I do not wish to repeat all that I said then. My view of the profound importance of action on the lines which I then indicated remains unchanged. Indeed if anything I regard it, in the

light of developments over the last twelve months, as of greater importance now than I did when I addressed you in March, 1939. I gratefully acknowledge that many Rulers have of late made earnest endeavours to improve their administrative standards, that various admirable reforms have been introduced, and that measures have in many cases been taken to ensure that all legitimate complaints on the part of State subjects receive due consideration. But I earnestly hope that Your Highnesses will not cease to give your continual and close attention to the perfecting of your administrative machinery. The value of administrative reform remains as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles, where they have for the time being subsided, will not recur.

That the Crown is anxious to give such help as it is properly incumbent upon it to give is clearly shown by the assistance rendered to various States in different parts of India, and by the establishment of the Crown Police Force, the object of which is, as you are aware, to assist the States Governments should the situation pass beyond their control. But I am sure that it is fully present to Your Highnesses that the maintenance of order in the territories of Indian States is primarily the responsibility of the Rulers concerned.

I would like to draw particular attention to the views I expressed last year as to the desirability and the importance of the creation of joint services where small States in the same group are unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration. I can well understand and sympathise with the reluctance of individual Rulers to depart in such matters from the strict path of tradition. But the spirit of the times makes it essential for them in their own interests to take a longer view.

A beginning has been made in the organisation of joint services. It is in my judgment of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction, and it is my sincere hope that this movement will develop, and that I can look to you, gentlemen, who are members of this most important body, to do all in your power to encourage its growth.

I have kept in the closest touch since we met last year with the action taken by States in various parts of India consequent on my address to the Chamber. You may be certain that the interest which I have taken in this matter and the care with which I follow all developments in connection with it, will not diminish in the time that lies ahead.

Since the last meeting of the Chamber, the reforms in its constitution, so strongly advocated by the great majority of its members, have been carried into effect. I earnestly trust that those reforms will lead to greater harmony, to more effective work, and to closer co-operation between all States, whether great or small, for the good of the Princely Order, and the prosperity and welfare of the subjects of the Rulers. Let me only add that I have under my consideration the proposals which have been submitted to me by the Standing Committee for the enlargement of the Chamber."

17. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

Mar. 15,
1940

A reference to India's constitutional problems was made by Lord Linlithgow in the course of his speech at a State Banquet at Kapurthala on March 15, 1940.

"The anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see a solution of these problems," said His Excellency, "consistent with the unity of India, consistent with the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned and worthy of this great country and of its historic past needs no emphasis from me. If our endeavours have hitherto not met with success it has not been for want of trying or for want of goodwill, and there is no one, as you know, who is more concerned than myself to see the difficulties that have prevented the achievement of our wishes surmounted." Extracts :

"I am grateful to Your Highness for the references which you have been kind enough to make to my endeavours to contribute to the solution of the great constitutional problems of India. The anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see a solution of these problems consistent with the unity of India, consistent with the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned, and worthy of this great country and of its historic past, needs no emphasis from me. If our endeavours have not hitherto met with success, that has not been for want of trying or for want of goodwill; and there is no one, as you know, who is more concerned than I am to see the difficulties that have prevented the achievement of our wishes surmounted.

I have also to thank Your Highness on behalf of Her Excellency for the kind remarks you have made about her. She has the welfare of India's millions very much at heart and is delighted with the generous support she has received from Your Highness in her campaign against the terrible scourge of tuberculosis.

I have been impressed during my visit with the progress made by Your Highness' administration in the 'nation-building' departments and in particular with the success of your efforts to improve the breed of cattle and the standards of cultivation, animal husbandry, village hygiene and rural reconstruction generally. Your Highness is, I am sure, well aware that the prosperity of your predominantly agricultural State depends to a great extent upon a loyal and contented peasantry.

I am glad to learn that the Tika Raja is taking a prominent part in the administration on Your Highness' behalf. I feel sure that he is acquiring a first-hand knowledge of State affairs which will one day stand him in good stead.

The Empire is passing through a most critical phase of its long history, and the loyalty of the Princes of India was never more valuable or more appreciated. It is clear in this war, as in that of 1914-18, that Kapurthala is second to no State in its loyalty and devotion to the Crown and that Your Highness' martial subjects, by rallying to the Empire's call, are once more proving themselves true to the glorious traditions of the past. Under the able guidance of your gallant son, Major Maharajkumar Amarjit Singh, the State

Forces are being brought up to the required standard of efficiency and are at any moment ready to answer any call that may be made upon them. In this connection I would like to congratulate Your Highness on your wise decision to accept the 1939 State Forces Scheme, the outstanding advantages of which you and your advisers evidently appreciate.

I deeply appreciate the reference which Your Highness has just made to the tragic events of two days ago (the shooting outrage in Caxton Hall, London). This dreadful outrage has met with universal condemnation in India from every party and every class. In Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India and the Empire lose a great and distinguished administrator whose interest in India remained unflagging to the end and who over the many years since he left this country was well known as a ready adviser and a warm friend of young Indians of whatever class or community who while in London turned to him for help. The deep sympathy of all of us will go out to Lady O'Dwyer and her family in the irreparable loss which they have suffered. I need not say how profoundly I share the relief which Your Highness has expressed at the providential escape of Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and of Sir Louis Dane, all of them old and tried friends of India. I am glad to be able to say that the latest news I have of all the three is reassuring. Lord Zetland has sufficiently recovered to have returned to work, while Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane, according to the latest reports, are progressing favourably."

18. RED CROSS SOCIETY'S WORK

Satisfaction at the progress in the activities, greatly expanded on account of the war, of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society, was expressed by Lord Linlithgow at their annual general meeting on March 26, 1940. Text of the speech: Mar. 26, 1940

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,* SIR ERNEST BURDON, GENERAL JOLLY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is always a great pleasure to me to preside over this Annual General Meeting of your two Societies, and to welcome this gathering of delegates from all parts of India, so many of whom have demonstrated their enthusiasm for the work which the Societies represent, by giving up their time and undertaking a long and troublesome journey to the Capital.

India has not escaped the infection of the discords and rivalries which have disfigured the world's history and retarded its progress of late. Amidst all these, and in contrast to them, it is heartening to see two Societies, both of which had their beginnings in the strong desire to relieve the toll of suffering caused by war, going steadfastly forward, hand in hand, without competition, confusion or discouragement, jointly dedicated to the service of humanity, which so sorely stands in need of it today.

* His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Robert Cassels.

The work which your Societies have done in peace is admirable, but, inevitably, it is in time of war that the test and the strain is heaviest. It was therefore with particular attention that I read the reports and listened to the interesting summaries which have just been presented to us by Sir Ernest Burdon and by General Jolly of the work that has been accomplished during the year in which we have been living partly under the shadow of imminent war and partly in a state of war itself.

There is every cause for satisfaction with the work that these reports reveal, and especially the report of the Central Joint War Committee. It was no small task to bring the Mobilisation Plan so smoothly into operation, and those responsible for it, both at Headquarters and on the Provincial Committees, fully deserve the compliments which have been paid to them in the speeches we have heard. I am happy to feel that the work so well prepared and begun is continuing with the smooth efficiency we should expect under the able guidance of the Red Cross Commissioner.

The work of the Joint War Committee involves a close co-operation with Army Headquarters, and it was in that sphere that the willing help and counsel of General Tabuteau, whose loss we mourn today, made itself particularly felt. I will not add to the tributes you have already heard paid to him, except to say that no one more richly deserved the honour recently conferred upon him of admission to the rank of Commander of the Order of St. John.

It is a matter of regret to all of us that this is the last Annual General Meeting which Sir Ernest Burdon will be attending. Three years ago, the first of these meetings over which I presided, was also the first at which Sir Ernest was present as Chairman of the St. John Ambulance Association and as a Knight of Grace. In those three years the St. John Ambulance Association and the Brigade, no less than the Indian Red Cross Society, have advanced in India with great strides. It is no exaggeration to say that Sir Ernest's share in the responsibility for this development is a very large one. The quality of his work and of his enthusiasm for the welfare of your two organisations, with which he has been intimately associated for the last nine years, is well known to all of you; but no one, I think, can realise quite how hard Sir Ernest has worked, who has not been constantly and closely in touch with the activities not only of the Red Cross and St. John, but of the various other charities, funds and benevolent institutions, with which Sir Ernest has been associated for a much longer period of time. His help has been invaluable. His energy, his balanced judgment and his ripe experience have combined to make him the ideal Chairman and Chief Commissioner. We shall miss him very much.

Mr. Badenoch, whom I have nominated to succeed him as Chairman, needs no introduction either to you or to the work and responsibilities which await him. As Honorary Treasurer of both organisations he has already to his credit much valuable work, and I am sure that he will prove an able successor to Sir Ernest Burdon.

I feel sure, too, that you would wish me to welcome today, on your behalf, General Jolly, to this his first General Meeting as Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society, having succeeded General Bradfield in that capacity last September. General Jolly's ability and energy have already been tried and proved in several fields, and you need have, I think, little doubt that the direction of the activities of the Indian Red Cross Society is in safe hands.

You have listened to the speeches of the Chairman, and you will have opportunity to study the reports of both organisations. There is no need for me to comment in detail on the activities of the past year, but there are one or two points among them, which particularly struck me and which I should like to mention. Dealing, first, with the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade, I was delighted to hear that 1939 had been a record year of achievement, both in the field of instruction in First Aid and Home Nursing, and in increase of membership of the Brigade; 8,000 members does not sound a large number in this country of hundreds of millions, but it represents a leap forward in membership by 60 per cent in one year. For this the war is no doubt responsible, but war or no war, let us hope that this increase will have set the standard for the years to come, for India has and will always have need of as many trained workers as she can get, of the type that are found in the St. John Ambulance Brigade. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the organisation of the Brigade on a territorial basis coinciding with Provinces, under the control of heads of Civil Medical Departments, has been completed. This arrangement, I am sure, will greatly assist to maintain the efficiency of the Brigade in India.

We may hope that there will be no call in India to put into practice A.R.P. and anti-gas training provided by St. John Ambulance, but the importance of having ready a supply of volunteers skilled in such measures needs no emphasis from me. I have myself witnessed in Simla and been impressed by a demonstration of the results of this training. On that occasion so realistic was the air-raid arranged to try the mettle of the workers that it was necessary to warn the citizens of Simla beforehand, by beat of drum, to be of good cheer since the raid was not the real thing.

The Mobilisation Plan and the formation of the Joint War Committee made it inevitable and proper that the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance should share the burden of and the credit for much that has been accomplished during the past year. In particular I would like to mention the Women's Auxiliary Corps in Bombay, the numerous work parties that have been formed up and down the country, typical of which is the party that works so zealously here in Delhi under the guidance of Lady Cassels, and the organisation of a Voluntary Aid Service of Nurses to supplement the Nursing Branch of the Army Medical Services. These are all solid achievements of great value, within the scope of both organisations.

Let me mention now some matters which pertain more particularly to the Indian Red Cross Society. I was most interested to

hear of a Blood Transfusion Service in Bengal. This is an example which I hope will spread.

I hope, too, that the donation from the British National Institute for the Blind, which has been spent upon education work on the prevention of blindness, is a seed that will multiply a hundredfold. My appeal for funds for St. Dunstan's Hostel, and Sir Clutha Mackenzie's recent tour of India (though St. Dunstan's, of course, works only for the war blinded) have, I think, roused interest in the grave problem of blindness in this country and have perhaps inspired the hope that much might be done here by way of prevention, cure and after-care, in co-operation with the great institutions which already exist outside India for the purpose.

The growth of the Indian Red Cross Society is clearly a healthy one. Perhaps the clearest evidence that it is destined for still greater service in the India of the future is the continued development and expansion of the Junior Red Cross. This is in my opinion one of the aspects of Red Cross activities which deserves the greatest attention—so that the principles for which the Red Cross stands should be planted firmly in as many as possible of the youth of the country.

It is gratifying to note that the Society in India has been able to extend help to other parts of the world, which stood in need of it, and that two nurses in India have been awarded by the International Red Cross Committee the distinction of the Florence Nightingale Medal. This, and the fact that the war has not yet curtailed the normal peace-time activities of the Red Cross in India, betokens good organisation and reserves of strength. But there is no doubt that those reserves still need most urgently to be built up both in members and in funds, against a severer testing time which may yet be in store. The response by the public to my appeal for funds for the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance—which was greatly assisted by the willing co-operation of the Press—has been generous, especially considering the claims of other War Funds. But there can never be too much generosity in such a cause, and I feel sure that if and when the greater need arises it will be found that the springs of public support in India have barely yet been tapped.

Ladies and Gentlemen, once again I thank you for coming here today, and I wish you every success in the arduous and responsible duties which you have to perform. Your work is full of the greatest significance for the future of the world and of our civilisation. 80 years ago the sight of the dying and wounded lying uncared for on the bloody field of Selserino so impressed one man that he set in train the international conference which ended in the signing of the Geneva Convention, and the birth of the Red Cross. 700 years before that in Jerusalem, in the midst of the Crusades, the Poor Brotherhood of the Hospital of St. John was established as an Order of Knighthood, of which it was said that 'amidst the noise and clashing of swords, and with a continual war upon their hands it was capable of joining the peaceable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field.'

War is an evil thing, but out of war have arisen such symbols as the Red Cross of Geneva and the eight-pointed White Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, the arms of which represent the virtues of prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude. These are ancient symbols, and they have undoubtedly helped to lead the world along the paths of humanity and progress. The shadow of another symbol, not so humane, is now brooding over our civilisation. When it has passed, mankind will still need the services of those who work under the Red Cross and the Cross of St. John; they will not be found wanting, and they will come to their work, I know, with strength renewed and with their chivalry untarnished."

19. "IN UNITY LET US FIND STRENGTH"

"In unity let us find strength," urged Lord Linlithgow in a broadcast to India from Simla on May 26, 1940.

May 26,
1940

Declaring that the watchwords were Unity, Courage and Faith, His Excellency said what India most needed now was selfless service for the people as a whole, without regard to class or creed.

"India, whether British India or the Indian States, has already made a great and generous contribution, in men, in money and in material, to the conduct of the war and to the attainment of ideals which have found the strongest support from all classes in the country—a contribution the magnitude and importance of which has been recognised on every side."

Text of the broadcast :—

"I would like to say a few words at this difficult moment when the military position in France is grave.

I cannot give you more news of that position than is already available to you in the public press and over the wireless. Nor can I attempt to forecast what the immediate military consequences may be. But I would like to say that I am proud, as I am sure that you are proud, that we have certain detachments from the Indian Army serving with the B.E.F. in this hour of supreme trial. We may be sure that in carrying out their duties they will nobly sustain the highest traditions of Indian armed forces, whose reputation for courage and devotion is second to none.

I said a moment ago that I am not able to foretell the immediate military consequences that may flow from the present strategical position in Northern France. I can, however, and with all the confidence and conviction of which I am capable, assure you of this, that no difficulty, or loss, or disappointment, at this initial phase of the active campaign will turn us from our purpose of waging war against the enemy until the objects for which we drew the sword are secured. Let me remind you of the Prime Minister's speech delivered to the House of Commons only last week :—

'We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many many long months of struggle and suffering...

You ask what is our aim. I can give the answer in one word—it is victory—victory at all costs, victory in spite of all perils, victory however long and hard the road may be.'

Those were brave words. Let us, then, face the stark truth that we are now only at the outset of a long and arduous campaign, to be waged unceasingly by land, sea and air, a campaign which may indeed last as long as the Great War of 1914-1918, which will strain and test all our resources, both moral and material; but a campaign the outcome of which, so long as we are true to ourselves, is going to be the triumph of right against the dark forces that threaten to overwhelm our civilisation.

You and I are far away from the scene of those events that at present hold the attention of the world. Most of us desire to help—to do all that in our power lies to aid those who are bearing themselves so bravely in face of danger. India, whether British India or the Indian States, has already made a great and a most generous contribution, in men, in money, and in material to the conduct of the war, and to the attainment of ideals which have found the strongest public support from all classes in this country,—a contribution the magnitude and the importance of which has been recognised on every side. She, I know, will continue, in circumstances such as those that now confront us, to lend all the aid in her power to the triumph of a just and righteous cause.

In the field of Defence in particular, you will have seen that in face of these grave happenings, immediate steps are being taken to secure the maximum expansion of our Defence Forces and Services (including the Indian Air Force) which may be practicable having regard to the limitations of our indigenous resources in material. Nor, I can assure you, shall any other effort be spared to respond to the anxiety so widely and so generally felt to contribute to the outcome of the war.

Let me tell you how, in respects other than material, our contribution can best be made, and let me appeal to each one of you tonight to make such a contribution.

First of all let us be steadfast in our faith that a cause such as ours cannot be beaten. None can subdue for long or throughout the world the spirit of man, for that spirit draws its ultimate impulse from God. Therefore let us take comfort and confidence, every one of us, from those profound beliefs which throughout the ages have been the unfailing support and inspiration of mankind.

So fortified, let us resolve to strengthen and steady those with whom we come into contact. Let us warn them against believing or repeating to others idle rumour or panic tale, both probably emanating from enemy sources.

Above all, let us count in these testing times a sacred duty to the land we love to suppress all differences that divide us. They may be real enough, those differences, and in the fulness of time we may have once more to discuss policies designed to remove them. In that event, we shall all of us, whatever our opinions, be free to

use our influence in accord with our consciences. Meantime, let us frankly recognise that this is no time for internal difference or dispute. Let us rather put away these things and give our minds and hearts to the service of the common weal. In unity let us find strength. Above all, let us guard and support public order and internal peace, which in these times are indeed our most precious possessions.

Lastly, let me say a word, as man to man, to each one of you. Fear is the most potent of all foes, for it destroys not only the mind but also the spirit. Therefore set fear aside. Put away, too, all vague and shadowy doubts—those haunting demons of the mind that are the advance-guards of fear. India is an ancient land, and she has witnessed many storms. From her steady gaze, if you will look into her eyes, you may take this comfort, and learn against this age-old truth, that the fiercest storm must in the end abate, and that darkest days give place in due season to clear skies and to light.

I have been amongst you now for many moons, both in good times and in heavy. No difficulties or disappointments have diminished my faith in the future of this great country, and that faith is as firm today as at any time. What India most needs now is selfless service for the people as a whole, without regard to class or creed. I will not spare myself in that cause. That will be easy for me, for I shall be labouring to the best of my capacity for those who have long commanded my respect and who now hold my affection. I know I shall not call in vain upon you for the best and truest service of which each one is capable.

Remember that, until I speak to you again—the watchwords are: Unity; Courage; Faith!

Goodnight, and may God be with you each and all!"

20. CIVIC GUARD FOR INDIA

Text of Lord Linlithgow's statement issued on June 5, 1940 :—

June 5,
1940

"In my broadcast of May 26, I made it clear that no effort would be spared to respond to the anxiety so widely and so generally felt to contribute to the outcome of the war. Details of the expansion of our Defence forces were given on May 25. The Commander-in-Chief, in his broadcast of May 31, has further explained the steps that are being taken to this end, and the help which India has given to the Allied cause. Details of the supply effort of India, which we are doing all in our power to increase and to develop still further are being released to the press. On June 4, details were published of the National Defence Savings Movement.

This is a grave moment in our history and the emergency which faces us is real and serious. It is of vital importance that every effort should be strained to give the maximum assistance that we can. It is for that maximum assistance, that maximum co-operation, that I would like to appeal today.

I well know how strong is the desire to help in every way possible, and the Governors of the Provinces, and their Governments, are as anxious as are the Government of India and I myself to do all we can to respond to that desire.

I have been in touch with all Governors on this subject. We are all agreed as to the desirability of setting up at once District War Committees in each district. Those District War Committees will be designed to afford the primary means by which the public will receive guidance and assistance in every aspect of war conditions by which they are affected, and will be enabled to organise themselves to contribute in a variety of ways to the common safety and the war effort.

Their scope would, among other objects, include the dissemination in connection with the war, and assistance in matters such as recruitment, the support of the National Defence Savings Movement, and the like. Immediate steps are being taken by the Governors of the different provinces to establish these Committees.

I am anxious, too, to take the fullest advantage of the widespread anxiety to give personal service of a voluntary character in connection with internal defence measures, an anxiety which I deeply appreciate and value.

I have been in consultation with provincial governments as to the forming of a body of a voluntary character which would be affiliated to the regular police and which could render service in connection with the maintenance of public order, A.R.P., anti-sabotage, and various other important aspects of internal defence. There is agreement on all sides as to the desirability of establishing such an organisation without delay.

I propose that it should be called 'The Civic Guard' and that it should be organised provincially. This will make it possible for it to adapt itself to the differing conditions of the different provinces. Provincial Governments are actively engaged on the details of the proposed organisation, the conditions of its membership, and the work which it will be required to undertake, and an early announcement may be looked for in each province.

I am confident that the Indian States, whose contributions to the prosecution of the war have already been so generous and to whose attention the steps which are being taken in British India are being brought, will welcome the opportunity still further to manifest the warmth of their support for the common cause by action on similar lines to the extent that circumstances permit.

Let me again on this occasion renew the appeal I have already made for unity, for the sinking of differences, and for the concentration of our endeavours on the effective prosecution of the war. The value of the help that we can render in a cause, support for which in this country is so great, is inestimable. The sincerity and the spontaneity of the response that has been made on every side are indeed encouraging and heartening features at the time of great gravity.

India has made a great effort in the months that have passed. The help that she is anxious to give and that she can give in the difficult days that lie before us is greater still, and I feel sure that the contribution she will make will be one worthy of her attachment to the ideals for which we are fighting and of her ancient name."

21. VICEROY URGES COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE

In a dark hour for the cause of the Allies, Lord Linlithgow broadcasting from Simla on June 19, 1940, re-affirms the determination of His Majesty's Government to fight on until their ideals are achieved, and urges the people of India to maintain their courage and confidence unimpaired.

June 19,
1940

"When I last spoke to you nearly a month ago I said 'until I speak to you again, the watchwords are Unity, Courage, Faith.'

Tonight I speak to you again at a time of trial heavier still. The situation in the West is still obscure. We do not yet know the precise turn events are taking. But it is clear that our gallant ally, France, has on her own territory had to meet a strain which has been greater than her resources enabled her to cope with.

What are our intentions in this grave situation? I can put them in a word. The withdrawal of our allies, if that withdrawal is confirmed, does not in the very least degree affect the settled determination of His Majesty's Government to continue the struggle to defeat the enemy and to achieve the ideals for which we have been fighting. Save by the defeat of the enemy there is no hope of the achievement of those ideals, and no hope of survival of modern civilisation, for the protection of which we have been prepared to make so many sacrifices.

I am confident that the people of India will wholeheartedly endorse the determination of His Majesty's Government to prosecute this war until the safety of all those things for which we are fighting has been secured. The struggle will be a long and hard one. We must expect in its course to meet severe reverses, to undergo great sacrifices, to pass through many dark and difficult moments of doubt and apprehension. But the grave situation that confronts us is one that must be faced in the same spirit of resolute endeavour, of calm confidence, as has always been shown by us in grave emergency. So faced, it will be overcome, and victory will be won. We must bend every effort, all of us, each in our own way, to bring about that victory, to achieve the ideals for which we are fighting.

What of our preparedness in India, and what of the effect on India of these new developments?

No effort has been spared to bring our defence arrangements to the highest pitch. You have heard yesterday of the programme of defence expansion on which we are engaged—a programme which I can assure you shall be urged on and developed to the utmost practicable limit, with all the personal help and interest that I can

give it. We are actively pursuing possibilities of reinforcing our equipment in this country by purchase from outside.

You have heard that India is now sending a representative to work with the Greenly Mission in the United States. We are discussing with His Majesty's Government all possible methods of expanding our output, and of lending greater assistance still to the common effort. You may feel certain that nothing is being left undone to secure in the highest degree possible the safety of India against aggression.

What message have I for all of you in these dark days? My message is—courage and confidence. There is no reason for any undue alarm, still less for panic. All of us in India can best serve the country's interests by going about our business in the ordinary way, mindful at all times of the great events that are happening, and of the contribution, direct or indirect, that we can make to them. There is no way in which harm can more easily, and more unconsciously, be done to India and to her interests than by yielding to the panic fears against which I uttered a warning when I spoke to you last month, those panic fears that, once admitted, so swiftly undermine the spirit, not only of the individual man and woman, but of country-side.

I know the anxiety of the ordinary citizen to do all that he or she can to contribute in their own way to maintaining public order within this country. The Governors and I have tried to respond to that desire by setting up recently organisations with which you are familiar.

Let me only say to-night that I had always thought of these organisations as being wholly non-political and wholly non-sectarian. I am quite certain that that is what they will in practice prove to be, and that it is only on that basis that they can render the service for which they are designed. I trust that any misunderstanding there may have been in that regard will be removed by this assurance. My appeal was, and is still, to the individual citizens of every community to come forward and to make their contribution towards the greater security of their motherland.

I would urge you all once more to consider the importance of unity. Let me again appeal for the temporary sinking of political differences in this time of trial, and for united effort in which all parties can join for the common good. That political differences exist we all know only too well; that there are deep differences of outlook, based on honest and sincere conviction.

But at a time of trial such as the present I would hope that we could, all of us, come together in a way which would not take account of those political differences, and which would admit of the disputes regarding them being put aside, by common consent, until happier times. My own anxiety to see that consummation is well known to you. I have always been, and I remain today, ready and anxious to lend any help I can myself towards it.

Before I leave you, let me reaffirm the watchwords which I gave you when we were last together—Unity, Courage, Faith. Those are the pillars on which our house must stand—those are the vital things in which we must repose our trust."

22. ARMY EXPANSION

That nothing would be left undone that could be done towards the expansion of India's armed forces or their equipment was the assurance given by Lord Linlithgow addressing the Madras Provincial War Committee on July 30, 1940.

July 30,
1940

"I am delighted that I should have this opportunity of meeting you this evening, of hearing how quickly you have got to work ; what you have accomplished so far, and what you intend for the future.

This is the first occasion on which I have been privileged to meet a Provincial War Committee and I am grateful to you for the clear proofs you have given me of the patriotic and loyal co-operation, the energy, the keenness and determination with which the people of this Presidency and the citizens of this city have united to lend their services to the common cause.

I congratulate you on the admirable manner in which your Committee appears to have been organised. It is broad-based, I am happy to observe, and representative ; and this is exactly what I had hoped ; for, as I said not many days ago, I am sure that it is only when such organisations as yours are wholly non-political and non-sectarian that they can truly and efficiently render the service for which they are designed.

It is only to be expected that Madras, in this as in other fields of war effort, would be in the front rank ; but it is none the less a great encouragement to one to know that such a fine example has been set by you ; and if in other parts of India similar Committees have organised themselves and set about their duties with the enthusiasm that you have shown, we are already a long way on the road to achieving that greater security of the motherland, which is our goal.

The reports of your Sub-Committees contain a number of important points which, in the short time available this evening, you will not expect me to discuss in detail. Every one of the proposals which you have made is evidence of that spirit which I find so heartening, that determination on your part to contribute your utmost to the winning of the War. The precise manner in which some of your proposals are to be met is not altogether free from controversy, but I can nevertheless assure you that they have all received and will receive the fullest and most sympathetic consideration from my Government.

I have arranged that Mr. Dow, the Vice-President of the Supply Board, and Mr. Puckle, Director-General of Information, should pay a visit to Madras coinciding with my own, and I hope that you will take the opportunity which this affords of personal discussion with

them of problems of common interest in the field of supply and the mobilisation of industries, and of publicity.

I know how keenly you desire that this Presidency should have its full share in the present expansion of the Armed Forces of this country, a desire which does honour to the people of South India. That expansion is going forward as fast as the temporary limitations of equipment and training establishments will allow.

Meanwhile it is a source of great satisfaction to me, as I am sure it is to you to observe that recruitment to the Army in Madras in the last nine months has been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency. Two entirely new battalions—one Territorial and one Pioneer—have been raised, in addition to a new Mechanical Transport unit; and there will certainly be further large demands on your manpower for Sappers and Miners, for Pioneers, for Signallers, and for more Mechanical Transport units,—all of them branches of the fighting Services in which I can confidently say that the people of this Presidency are second to none.

The doors of recruitment to the Indian Air Force on an all-India basis stand wide open and Madrassis are as eligible for all ranks of it as young men from other parts of India. The standards of selection are necessarily high, and I hope and trust that Madrassis will be well represented among those who are chosen.

Before I turn from this subject let me assure you again in the most emphatic manner that nothing will be left undone that can be done in connection with the expansion of the Indian armed forces or their equipment.

It is as necessary to make provision for the munitions required in modern warfare as it is to raise the necessary forces. We are making every effort possible to make India as self-sufficient as may be, and we shall continue to do so.

It is not sufficient to raise great forces; we have to be able to train them, and to train them by skilled personnel which itself takes time to train. In the field of supply, you are, many of you, gentlemen, familiar in connection with your private businesses with the extreme difficulty in present conditions of securing skilled technical labour, machine tools and technical machinery. Those factors have to be borne in mind.

Nor, finally, can we overlook altogether the question of cost. It has been already stated that the expansion on which we are already working is to cost twenty crores: it is a matter of multiplication to gauge the cost to India of an expansion on the scale that many of us would like to see, and that so many of us have asked for.

I have mentioned these difficulties, for it would not be fair not to touch on them. But let me assure you again that we are ready to grapple with them, and that they will not diminish our anxiety to see India in a position to play a part worthy of her history, and adequate to the dangers that confront her today.

Your Finance Sub-Committees and your District Committees are energetically engaged in raising funds for War Purposes. I am sure that their approach cannot fail to achieve very considerable results.

I am the more confident of this when I consider that, in nine months, donations to my own War Purposes Fund, quite apart from those which have been made directly to the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association, to St. Dunstan's, and to the various Funds which have been opened in the Provinces, have exceeded the sum of rupees one crore.

As you know, I have not made any direct appeal for these contributions: I announced the opening of my Fund, and its existence has been advertised from time to time. But this remarkable result has been achieved by the entirely spontaneous gifts of loyal men and women from every class of His Majesty's subjects in this country; from the richest as well as the poorest in the land. How much more then, surely, can your Committee and your District Committees achieve by a more direct and active approach to the generosity and the patriotism of the people of the Madras Presidency.

I wish to thank also your Propaganda Sub-Committee, which is preparing and issuing information in the form of pamphlets and posters.

It is engaged in work of which I cannot too strongly emphasise the importance: iteration and reiteration is the secret of success in this field of your work: the truth cannot be too often repeated. I assure you that you can rely on the utmost co-operation in this work from my Director-General of Information, and you should not hesitate to use to the full the organisation which he controls.

I cannot end my remarks to you without mentioning the importance of your Civic Guards.

I have told you that I know full well how anxious the ordinary citizen is to do all that he or she can to contribute to the safety and to the maintenance of public order in this country. The raising of a Civic Guard provides that opportunity.

Our defences are sound and let us hope that we have no enemy within our gates. But our defences have to be protected, and recent events in Europe have shown us that against the 'fifth column' a nation that values its liberty can never be too well prepared.

We have our army and we have our police, but the more assistance they can get the more effective will be the shield that they provide. I am sure that a trained and disciplined body of voluntary workers such as your Civic Guard should be, can give that assistance to a degree that is beyond measure valuable.

It remains for me only to repeat how happy I am to have had this opportunity of meeting and speaking to you. I need not say that I shall watch the progress of your work with the keenest interest. May God speed your endeavours and may every success attend them."

23. EXPANSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Aug. 8,
1940

Steps to reinforce the Central Government by the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council were announced by Lord Linlithgow in a statement on August 8, 1940. His Excellency also assured the country of the British Government's sympathy with India's political aspirations and indicated the manner in which those aspirations might be given practical shape. Text of the statement :

"India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India which would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorised me to make the present statement.

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee. In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the Provinces between the major parties was a desirable pre-requisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorised me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear however that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points that have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.

The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree.

Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

They trust however that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council) all parties, communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament."

24. WHAT BOMBAY SAYS TODAY, INDIA SAYS TOMORROW

Aug. 13,
1940

Extracts from speech to the Bombay War Committees at Bombay on August 13, 1940 :

"In the short time that your Committees have been organised you have already achieved a great deal, and I find it most encouraging to observe the spirit with which you have applied yourselves to your important tasks. I was particularly glad to hear from Your Excellency of the most valuable work which is being done in the districts.

I am delighted to notice the representative character of your Committees. The work on which you are engaged is of vital national importance—no less than the defence and security of this great country. Let us not under-estimate the task before us, but rather pledge ourselves to devote all our resources, spiritual as well as material, and all our energies to the high purpose of victory. Here in India we may all of us take heart and courage from the certain knowledge that the whole of this country—with a degree of unanimity which is immensely significant—is with us in our determination at all cost to preserve India from the malignant influence of Nazi power. You will have read in the Statement which I was authorised to make last Thursday, of the desire of His Majesty's Government to promote in India that unity of national purpose which will enable India to make, in full measure, the great and worthy contribution to the common cause which it is in her power to make, and of the steps which I propose to take to that end. I am convinced that all who serve on War Committees, here in Bombay City, in the districts and elsewhere throughout India, must lay aside all political and sectarian prejudices if they are well and truly to perform the task for which the Committees are designed. They must work, as I am sure you are working, united by a single purpose—the defence of the Commonwealth by the winning of this war.

There is one matter, which I should like to mention—a matter which is of very great concern to all of us—I refer to the expansion of the Indian Armed Forces and of India's war effort in the production of munitions and equipment and in the field of supply. We would—most of us—like to see an army of a million men called into being to defend these shores, as it were, at a word of command. Your impatience to see this accomplished is natural, and the desire of this Presidency

to bear its full share in the expansion does you credit. Bombay Presidency has already supplied nearly 10,000 recruits since the outbreak of war, and I know that the supply of manpower is far from exhausted. I assure you that everything possible is being done and will continue to be done, not only to recruit and train the forces which the country needs as quickly as temporary limitations of equipment will allow, but to make India as self-sufficient as possible to arm, equip and supply those forces. I have myself seen factories in this country, where the lathes are turning and the machines working night and day, and thousands of men are engaged in turning out munitions and other material of war in ever-increasing quantities. It is an inspiring sight; and it is only a beginning. One cannot produce modern armies, springing fully armed and equipped from the ground, by a simple order to the recruiting sergeants. Their equipment and their training takes time. Equipment is the limiting factor, and in this field we are still short of machinery and of skilled men to use it. But we are in process of overcoming these difficulties. Once they are removed, expansion will be possible to the full measure of our requirements.

Let me turn now to the work of your various Committees. I am exceedingly glad to learn that His Excellency the Governor's War Gifts Fund is making such good progress, and I trust that the energetic approach of the Committee which is in charge of this Fund (generously assisted as it is by the Press) will secure a contribution commensurate with the size and the importance of this Presidency.

The main object to which you have decided to apply the money you raise—a fighter squadron for the Indian Air Force—is well-chosen to appeal to the public imagination, and one which is clearly and directly related to the defence of these shores. As you know, arrangements are in train to make aircraft available for the expanded Indian Air Force, and let us hope it will not be long before one of the new Squadrons is proudly carrying the name of this Presidency. A fighter squadron, with reserves, costs nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, and a single fighter plane costs nearly a lakh and a half. Let each town and group of villages see whether it can produce the means to supply a fighter plane: let Gujarat vie with the Carnatic to see which can first produce a flight or more of aircraft, and you will soon have one squadron, if not two or three.

I trust that the figures of investment in Defence Loans will soon be more encouraging, and I shall certainly see that the suggestions which you have made for improving the position in this respect are at once carefully considered. Investment to assist war effort should appeal not only to the rich man, but to the man of more moderate means who cannot afford to give his money for the cause as freely as he can lend it. Spontaneous gifts from all classes of people, ranging from several lakhs of rupees to a few annas, have amounted, in the case of my own War Purposes Fund to a remarkable total of over one crore of rupees in less than 10 months; the donors were those whose ready patriotism needed no appeal to make their offering to the common cause. This city and the districts of the Presidency can claim

many wealthy citizens, and I am encouraged to believe that, when they are reminded by your appeals that a loosening of their purse-strings for gift or loan will hasten the ultimate victory, they (and not only the wealthy, but every man according to his means), will respond in a manner worthy of your traditional liberality.

Your War Publicity Committee has been very active. I think, if I may say so, that your idea of installing a loudspeaker system to convey to the public a continuous supply of straight news, is an admirable one, and I have arranged that it should be commended to the attention of Committees in other parts of India. Lies and alarmist rumours will only prevail if people do not hear the truth often enough. There is no discouragement in the truth and it is important for India that it should be told, in Bombay, again and again ; for I need hardly remind you, Gentlemen, that what Bombay says, or what Bombay believes today, has echoed right round this sub-continent by tomorrow."

25. LAWRENCE MILITARY SCHOOL

Sept. 14,
1940

Speech in presenting new School Colour to the Lawrence Royal Military School, Sanawar, on September 14, 1940 :—

"Mr. Principal, Members of the Staff, Boys and Girls of the Lawrence Royal Military School,—I count it a great honour to present to you today this newly consecrated colour. When colours were first presented to the School by Lord Dalhousie nearly 88 years ago, our grandfathers, at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, were facing the future with a certain degree of complacency and self-satisfaction, which the onset of war in the Crimea and of troubles in this country was soon to disturb.

In 1922, when those first colours were replaced by new ones the British Empire, with its Allies, had recently emerged victorious from the greatest test to which it had till then been subjected: and now, for the third time you are receiving a new school colour in a year which will prove, I believe, to be one of the greatest landmarks in our history—in the history of civilisation itself.

From this crisis, too, we shall emerge victorious, I have no doubt: and, please God, we shall have shed all complacency and be purified in spirit and strengthened in our resolve to build a new and better world.

For this purpose the world will surely need young men and women imbued in full measure with that strength of character which it was the object of your School's great founder to produce. It will call for hard and unremitting work, great faith, steadfastness of purpose, discipline and loyalty; loyalty not only to an earthly ruler, but to the principles for which we are now fighting, and to God. Of such loyalty this colour is the emblem and, in the spirit in which we have just prayed, may it ever inspire you and those who will come after you to prepare yourselves for service in the cause of justice and righteousness."

26. THAILAND GOODWILL MISSION

Speech welcoming the Thailand Goodwill Mission led by H. E. Captain Luang Dhamrong Navasvasti, at Simla on October 3, 1940 : **Oct. 3, 1940**

"It is my pleasure and privilege this evening, on behalf of the King-Emperor, to welcome you, Captain Luang Dhamrong Navasvasti and the other Members of the Thailand Goodwill Mission, to the summer capital of the Government of India.

My Government would have liked to have been able to entertain you yourselves at the winter capital of Delhi, where it would have been easier to show you things of greater interest than can be seen here in the Himalaya Mountains, but the exigencies of your programme made this impossible.

None the less I am profoundly gratified to learn that you intend to visit Delhi, where you will find, gathered in proximity to the buildings of India's new capital, the monuments of many centuries of Indian civilisation and history, and where I know that the Head of the Delhi Province will endeavour to give you such insight as is possible into the workings of the administration of the Imperial capital.

I hope, too, that you will find your visit to the North-West Frontier of India and to Bombay interesting as well as pleasant. On the North-West Frontier you will be able to see something of India's problems on her land frontier, and in Bombay and Calcutta two of the great ports of Asia. You may be certain that you will receive from the people of the provinces you visit the warmest and most sincere of welcomes.

I could only have wished that time had permitted of your undertaking a tour still more extensive, for I can assure you of the depth of the interest which your friendly visit has called forth throughout India, and of the anxiety of the people of this ancient land to do all honour in their power to the representatives of your famous State, so closely joined with India by so many historic and cultural links.

It is not often that we have the privilege of welcoming a Cabinet Minister of another Government to India, and I can assure you that the peoples of India are proud of the opportunity of showing some of the sights and problems of their great country to the emissaries of a State with which the whole British Empire, as well as India, have always enjoyed such happy relations.

The most recent proof of this lies in the Non-Aggression Treaty between Great Britain and Thailand, from which we may draw renewed confidence that the well-established traditions of friendship and goodwill between Thailand and the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations will stand firm through these difficult times. The heritage of Thailand, which I know means the land of the free, is one of peace and neutrality, and we in India cannot but

regard the visit of Your Excellency's Mission as offering us fresh assurance that the heritage will not be forgotten.

I can only hope that, when Your Excellency's Mission leave India, you will carry with you the memory of a great and hospitable people, whose history and aspirations in common with those of Thailand, will always incline them to seek and maintain that spirit of peace and goodwill towards friendly neighbours, which your Mission is so admirably designed to promote."

27. EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE

Oct. 25,
1940

The countries of the Eastern Group of the British Commonwealth of Nations had it in their power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which was destined to be of the greatest value, and which might indeed prove to be decisive, said Lord Linlithgow in his speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference in the Council Chamber, New Delhi, on October 25, 1940.

This Conference, said His Excellency, was almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth. It represented the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole, and it implied that those parts of the Empire lying east and south of Suez were about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities which would lighten the burden of the Mother Country.

Text of the speech :

"The need for a Conference such as this has long been apparent to those who have studied the organisation of the British Commonwealth of Nations for a protracted war ; and from the ready response to the invitations which I was recently authorised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to send out, I judge that other Empire Governments in this part of the world are as eager as the Government of India to make the Conference a living part of our war effort.

India may congratulate herself on her fortunate geographical position ; for her the occasion is historic, and on behalf of my Government and the people of India I extend a very cordial welcome to the visiting Delegations. I also welcome the Ministry of Supply Mission whose opportune arrival in India will enable the Conference to benefit by the advice of Sir Alexander Roger and his colleagues. I am glad, too, to think that we shall have available to us the advice of the strong and representative body of non-official advisers from India who are present here today.

I would not have it thought here or elsewhere that the holding of the Conference implies any failure of the members of the " Eastern Group " of Empire countries to help one another in the war effort. Indeed, we in India have been much impressed by the eagerness of other Empire Governments to help us, and we hope that we for our part have done our best to meet such demands as they have made upon us.

What the Conference does imply is something very different—a determination not merely to help one another, but to pool our resources so that we may as a group of Governments and countries put forth the greatest material war effort that we can.

The idea underlying the Conference is by no means new ; it arises from the Imperial Conference of 1937. But its urgency has been borne in upon us more particularly during the past six months. Many of the countries represented here played a great part in the War of 1914—18, contributing without stint men, money and material. In that war, however, material resources, though of great importance, were considerably less important than they are today, and it is probably true that the outlying Empire countries concentrated very largely upon manpower and the simpler forms of equipment, relying upon the highly organised industries of the United Kingdom and her Allies to do the rest.

When the present war began we knew that conditions would be very different, but we could not foresee the fall of Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium ; and the destruction of France as a military power and ally in Europe. The British Empire now fights alone, and must not only find the men and material to defend the United Kingdom against invasion, but provide for the defence of her outlying members, and for the equipment of the remnants of the forces of her conquered Allies.

This Conference therefore, while having a precedent in the Imperial Conference of 1937, nevertheless falls into a category almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth.

It represents the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole ; it implies that those parts of the Empire which lie east and south of Suez are about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities, which will lighten the burden on the Mother Country at a time when she is preoccupied with difficult problems peculiar to the present phase of the war ; and it reflects those qualities of resiliency and adaptability which are a characteristic feature of our political institutions, for it means that those units of the Commonwealth which are situated in the Eastern hemisphere are ready and willing to associate themselves with policies in which self-interest and self-assertion are relegated to second place in face of the menace that is confronting the Commonwealth as a whole.

The spread of the war in the direction of the Middle East cannot disrupt the political integrity of the Commonwealth, because that integrity is rooted in freedom and justice which are component elements of that political philosophy which imbues all sections of the Commonwealth. A threat to any part of the Commonwealth is a threat to the whole and the immediate danger is being faced at present in the Mother Country.

In this situation our first plain duty is to relieve the United Kingdom of such of her burdens as we can bear ourselves, and I suggest that we can best do this by preparing a joint scheme showing clearly

how far, viewed not as individual Governments and countries, but as a group, we are capable of meeting our own war needs and of supplying in increasing measure the war needs of the United Kingdom.

The task of the Conference is, in brief, the preparation of such a scheme, and my Government and I are under no illusions as to the complexity of your deliberations. All or almost all the countries represented here are producers of raw materials ; some are fortunate in possessing more or less highly organised industries ; and some are able to manufacture munitions of war on a fairly large scale. It will be for the Delegations to declare the strengths and weaknesses of their respective countries, and for the Conference as a whole to say how far the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the actual or potential surplus of another.

It is possible that in respect of certain items of supply no planning may be needed ; but there will, I believe, be room for planning and " rationalization " over a very wide field. The Conference clearly cannot stop short at recommending a comparatively easy exchange of raw materials and manufactured articles ; it will have to consider the position of the participating countries as a group and the best methods of making the group self-supporting.

You may find when you come to consider the establishment of new manufactures, that it is convenient that one or more countries within the group should concentrate upon particular items and that some general allocation of industrial responsibility will be inevitable. Again you may find that all the countries in the group are short of certain essentials, and the means of securing these will have to be planned.

The procedure by which the Conference will approach and solve these important problems is, of course, for the Conference to decide. Many of the problems to be discussed are, in their detailed aspects, a matter for experts, and I should like to make it clear that my Government intends to make available to individual Delegations and to the Conference as a whole all the expert assistance at its command whether of an official or non-official character.

India is frequently described as a bureaucratic country, but we rely greatly both in peace and in war on the co-operation of organised industry, and I acknowledge now with gratitude the readiness and generosity with which Indian industry has responded to our wartime needs.

The services of experts engaged in industry have been at our disposal from the first, and I am glad to think that so many of the gentlemen who have devoted so much time and thought to production problems since the war began have come to New Delhi to advise the Conference and its various Committees. Our own official experts are also available, particularly on the more specialized side of Munitions Production ; and I am sure that I am speaking for Sir Alexander Roger when I say that his very capable team will give all the help they can.

It would be idle to expect that the scheme to be drawn up by this Conference will be so complete and detailed that it will leave nothing to be settled by the participating countries. It will, we all hope, be a clear enunciation of policy and principles, but there will inevitably be a great mass of detail to be settled after the Conference disperses.

One of the objects of the Conference is, therefore, to consider the establishment of a Standing Committee to see that the Conference policy is acted upon with promptitude and energy. Whether this Committee can be of real use, as my Government believes, what countries should be represented upon it, and when it should be established, are matters for the Conference to consider.

What I have said so far relates entirely to war supply, and the Conference will doubtless deal with war supply and nothing else. We know, however, that some visiting Delegations desire to make use of the facilities available here for the discussion of wider economic issues, and my Commerce Department will be most ready to undertake such discussions with them.

Before I leave you to your deliberations, let me add that if the members of any Delegation desire while they are here to see something of this great country, with its great resources of raw materials and its growing industries, my Government will be only too glad to provide the necessary facilities. This is not an occasion for salesmanship or advertisement, and there is serious work ahead of us all. But some of those present may, as the deliberations of the Conference proceed find it necessary to acquire at first hand some knowledge of India's capabilities; and others who can spare the time may wish to carry away with them impressions not limited to the restricted circle of New Delhi.

I have said that there is serious work ahead of us all. The brunt of the war has so far fallen upon the United Kingdom, and our hearts go out in sympathy and admiration for the steadfast courage of its people, and of those who have been called upon to defend its shores.

If this Conference enables us to do more than we have yet done to protect the life of the Commonwealth, if within the next few months we are able to feel that our united efforts are enabling us to exert our undoubted strength to the full, then we shall not have laboured in vain.

I am satisfied that we have it in our power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which is destined to be of the greatest value, and which may indeed prove to be decisive. But if results of the highest value are to flow from our joint endeavours, it is evident that our contribution must be timely as well as sufficient, for, in war, speed is near to victory.

As I have already indicated it is a new conception of our Commonwealth ideals which will be reflected in your deliberations here. There is something significant, even dramatic, in the thought of Great Britain bravely bearing the brunt of the enemy's attacks while her kinsmen

and associated peoples in the East are marshalling their forces for that ultimate victory which will bring an end to aggression and to that depravity of the soul which accompanies totalitarianism.

Those Empires of the past which have fallen have generally fallen from some inherent defect from within. That is not likely to be the fate of the comity of peoples represented by the British Commonwealth. The British elements within that comity have a common heritage to defend, and the sister peoples associated with it also derive their aspirations from the traditions we seek to uphold.

Together, we represent varying degrees of that political philosophy which permeates the whole, but the common denominator of all is faith in freedom and a belief in those things of the spirit which make peoples truly great. Thus what we seek to do here is not something that will redound only to our credit as individual units of a worldwide Empire ; rather should it reflect the firm expression of our living faith in the splendid heritage which we enjoy as members of an association of liberty-loving peoples.

The Prime Minister asks me to convey the following message from him to the Eastern Group Conference :—

'The Assembly of Representatives of all our Governments in the Eastern Hemisphere to plan more effective mutual integration of their resources is a remarkable event. In defence of our common freedom you are indeed building up a new world of armed strength to redress the balance of the old. We here will find fresh encouragement in your labours and look to the day when forces created by our efforts both East and West advance together for final overthrow of the powers of evil.' "

28. IRRIGATION RESEARCH IN INDIA

Nov. 4,
1940

The engineers who built and maintained India's irrigation works "are among the foremost benefactors of the Indian cultivator," says Lord Linlithgow, opening the eleventh meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation in Delhi on November 4, 1940. Text of speech :

"I am most grateful to you for having invited me once more to open your annual meeting. My interest in agriculture, and in the welfare of the Indian cultivator in particular, is keen and abiding, and it therefore gives me a very special sense of pleasure to have this opportunity of meeting and speaking to those on whom, in this country, the fruitfulness of the land so largely depends.

When I last had the privilege of addressing you four years ago, your Board was six years old. This month sees its tenth birthday, and the thriving youngster seems, if I may say so, to have maintained its early promise of healthy development and useful activity.

On your Board are represented engineers from all parts of India, in whose able hands rests the administration of one of the greatest systems of irrigation in the world. In the building and maintenance of that system you and the engineers who have gone

before you must be numbered among the foremost benefactors of the Indian cultivator. The return on the vast capital investment of Rs.154 crores, which has so far been spent on irrigation works in India, is not to be measured in terms of revenue, but in the more precious currency of human life and prosperity; and, thanks to the irrigation works which you have made, not only has the threat of famine been removed from wide areas of the country, but, year after year, the irrigated fields bear crops of which the value in a single year is not far short of the whole capital cost of the great barrages, canals and distributaries which harness the waters and guide them where and when they are required.

Since I last addressed you, a great deal of water has flowed under the bridges and down your canals. With the coming of provincial autonomy the responsibility for the maintenance of the great Indian irrigation systems has now devolved upon Provincial Governments. Although she is divided into many Provinces and States, it must never be forgotten that India is essentially one country. The experience gained in one part of India may prove of the greatest value in another, and I can imagine no field of engineering science in which it is more desirable that experience and knowledge should be pooled than in the study and practice of irrigation. It is therefore most important that there should be machinery to make the best use of this pooled experience and to serve as a clearing house of information and advice.

There are numerous problems which are constantly assuming practical importance, not only for you as engineers but for those responsible for the administration of vast agricultural tracts. To mention only a few of them, there is the question of reclaiming deteriorated land within the bounds of important water-yielding catchment areas; the control and equitable distribution of all the flow available; the economical use of flow and the storage of surplus flow. These are some of the problems which call for solution, and it is in this sphere that the Central Board of Irrigation serves so important a purpose at the present time.

I was impressed when I read your agenda by the amount of valuable work which has been achieved by the various Irrigation Research Institutes and Divisions, and particularly by those at Poona, Lahore, in Sind and in the United Provinces. Your research officers meet twice a year, and I understand that their deliberations are most carefully recorded and disseminated, not only in India but also throughout the British Empire. In happier times they are still more widely circulated throughout the world.

One of the great tragedies of war is the interruption which it entails in the spread of beneficial knowledge which, in times of peace, is stimulated by the international contacts of scientists and research workers of all countries, and the sharing of experience valuable to mankind which is encouraged by all civilised Governments. In this direction I am happy to know that the part which India has played is an important one and that testimony is frequently received

from distant parts of the world to the value of the work of your research organisations.

Among these I must refer particularly to the Central Irrigation and Hydro-Dynamic Research Station near Poona which has done first class work, and which I was greatly disappointed not to be able, for reasons outside my control, to visit when I was recently at Poona, though I was able to study its records and see photographs and plans of its models. I have also in mind the Irrigation Research Laboratory at Lahore working in conjunction with the river training and model station at Malikpur, which I had the satisfaction of visiting earlier in my Viceroyalty.

I am delighted to see from your Secretary's annual report that the Bureau of Information for Irrigation, attached to the Board and formed as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which I had the honour to preside, is proving to be of value. The Bureau's large and carefully selected library is a source of extensive and reliable information, of which I am glad to think that good use can be and is made by irrigation engineers in India.

I am particularly glad to observe that you have on your agenda a revised constitution designed to admit Indian States to membership of the Central Board of Irrigation. In some of the States, there are fine irrigation systems and the participation of some of the Chief Engineers of the States in your deliberations will, I feel sure, be a source of added strength to the Board.

Before I end I must touch upon another matter closely connected in modern times with irrigation. I refer to the development of hydro-electric systems. Your predecessors erected works by which the waters of the great rivers of India, instead of running waste to the sea, were collected and distributed to increase the fertility of the soil. Their great work you are now continuing ; but a feature of the present age is the harnessing of these great waters to perform at the same time another task.

Modern engineering has found in the great rivers of India not only a source of life-giving water but also of electrical power. This power is not only employed in industry but also assists the irrigation engineer by driving the pumps of his tube-wells. So closely related are the two uses of the same element, as a source of irrigation and as a source of power, that the time may not be far distant when some organisation may become necessary to secure the closest possible co-ordination between the two.

And now I will leave you to your deliberations, for the success of which you have my warmest good wishes. You, who are irrigation engineers, are privileged, to an extent which few of us are, to see materialise in your time and before your own eyes the fruit of your labours. You have the satisfaction of knowing that the work on which you are engaged is of incalculable benefit to millions of souls. It is a great service to the land in which you work and live, and a service of which India is justly proud."

29. UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS

None could have foreseen a year before, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the two Houses of the Central Legislature on November 20, 1940, that in the interval, the Empire would be bearing single-handed in the war a burden so heavy as it was bearing ; that of its Allies, Poland and France would have been conquered ; that Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium would have been added to the list of Nazis' victims ; that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on gallant Greece. Nov. 20.
1940

But we would have been well-content had we been able to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered. India's war effort had struck the imagination of the world. His Excellency's confident hope that India would live up to her highest traditions, had been fulfilled in the highest degree.

In view of the fact that the major political parties were not prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them by his announcement of August 8, 1940, which would have placed real power and real responsibility in Indian hands and would have made for the preservation of Indian unity and agreed constitutional settlement for the future, His Majesty's Government had decided that His Excellency would not be justified in proceeding with the enlargement of the Executive Council or the establishment of the War Advisory Council at the moment. But His Majesty's Government did not propose to withdraw the proposals and were prepared to give effect to them as soon as they were convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support was forthcoming. Text of the address :

" GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to meet you all again today.

The fourteen months that have elapsed since I last addressed you has been a period of great events, events of profound significance both in their immediate effect and in their ultimate reaction on the fortunes of civilisation and the history of the world. I warned you in September 1939 that we should be ill-advised if we thought that victory was easily achieved or that the course of the conflict would be free from reverses to our arms. I expressed at the same time complete and entire confidence in the outcome of the war. I emphasised how vitally important it was to India, the Empire, and to the world's civilisation that that outcome should be satisfactory, and I added that I felt certain beyond any question that the response which India would make in a conflict for ideals so dear to her would be one of the utmost value and importance, and one worthy of her traditions and her ancient name.

When I spoke to you we could none of us have foreseen that fourteen months later the Empire would be bearing single-handed a burden so heavy as it bears today ; that of its allies at the beginning of the war Poland and France would have been overrun and conquered ; that unprovoked Nazi aggression would have added to its victims Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium ; and that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on the gallant people of Greece,

whose superb resistance commands our admiration today. But we should have been well content fourteen months ago had we, with any foreknowledge of the events which have happened, of the vastly increased burden placed upon the Empire, of the intensification of the most ruthless and unprincipled forms of attack on human life and human property by air and sea, of the singular disregard with which our enemies have continued to treat international obligations and treaties so long as they could derive a temporary advantage in doing so, had we, I say, been enabled to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered. The work of the armed forces of the Crown by sea, by land, in the air, in every theatre of war; whether they are drawn from India, from the Dominions and Colonies, or from the Home country, is such as to fill us with pride, with thankfulness, and with confidence for the future.

While the war lasts, its implications, its consequences, are such that it can never for a moment be out of our minds, that in everything that we do it must always be present to us. But I do not propose today, nor would this be the place, to enlarge in this speech on the detail of India's war effort, on the splendid work which Indian troops have done and are doing in the fighting line, or on the magnificent achievements of India, whether British India or the Indian States, in the provision of men, of money, of materials. No praise could be too warm for that achievement. It is one that has struck the imagination of the world, one for which the whole Empire is I know deeply grateful. And, substantial as that achievement already is, no pains are being spared to enable India to give still further effect, in all the ways I have mentioned, and with as little delay as may be, to the universal desire in this country to help the Allies and to see the triumph of the ideals for which they are fighting. The confident hope that I expressed a year ago that India would live up to her highest traditions have been fulfilled in the highest degree. You may be confident, Gentlemen, that in this vital matter I and my Government are fully alive to the importance not only of responding to India's desire to help, but of making her in the matter of defence as self-sufficient as possible; and to the necessity of bringing her defensive equipment to the highest practicable pitch of adequacy and efficiency.

I said, Gentlemen, that the war must be continually in our thoughts and must be related to everything we do. Of the matters on which I shall touch in the remainder of my speech, the great bulk arise out of, or have some connection with, war activities or the war situation. There are one or two which I shall also mention, which are not so directly connected. But in their case the interest taken in them by the general public is sufficiently great to justify me in making a reference which I should not otherwise have made.

It was with much regret that I learned of the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to take into consideration the Finance Bill designed to facilitate the financing of India's war effort. It will, I think, be very generally appreciated that it would be impossible for me to acquiesce in the decision of the Assembly, and I have made a recommendation which will be placed before the Assembly this afternoon.

The work of the Department of Supply, which as you will remember was established shortly before the outbreak of the war, has been of great value in connection with India's war effort; and I should like to pay a tribute to the importance of this work, and to the work of the Ordnance factories (which were not until recently brought under the Department). I should like to associate with that tribute the business community in this country, whether Indian or British. At a time of considerable strain the Department has had the most valuable assistance from business firms, and I am glad to think that that friendly collaboration and patriotic assistance, so readily given, has led to some remarkable results. In the field of munitions, the Ordnance factories since the beginning of the war have been able to export to His Majesty's Government about one hundred million rounds of small arms ammunition and nearly four hundred thousand rounds of gun ammunition. On the stores side, Indian industry has made contributions on the largest scale to the war effort in the shape of engineering stores, jute goods, and many other manufactured products. I and my Government have been at pains to endeavour to secure that such changes should be made in the organisation of the Department as practical working showed likely to produce still better results. You may be confident that the lessons of experience will not be lost upon us, and that such further modification of the supply organisation as experience may dictate will be made without hesitation or delay. As I speak today, indeed, further changes in the Supply Department are in view, designed further to speed up work, and to ensure that the organisation as a whole is as compact, and as economically run, as is consistent with the magnitude and the character of the operations which fall to be performed.

It was with the greatest satisfaction that I recently welcomed to India the Members of the Eastern Group Conference, and the Mission from the Ministry of Supply headed by Sir Alexander Roger. Much as may have been done, much still remains to be done if India is to make her full contribution to the war effort; and the importance, whether to India or to the Empire as a whole, of the labours of the bodies to which I have just referred cannot be over-estimated. I should like to take the opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the non-official Advisers from India who have, with such public spirit, placed their services at the disposal of these bodies.

The need for harnessing India's economic resources to the task of making her a great centre for supplying the requirements of the military forces engaged in the war must take first place in our attention. But the Government of India are in no way blind to the pressing problems that war conditions have brought to Indian trade and industry. The dislocation of our export trade by the cutting off of nearly all European markets has been receiving the closest attention not only of my Government but of the Export Advisory Council, in the hope of dealing with the problem of surplus production and of reducing the size of any surplus by finding new outlets for our products and manufactures. This last attempt is being pursued in various ways, of which mention may be made, in particular, of the exploratory

mission of Dr. Gregory and Sir David Meek to America, and of the decision to increase the number of our Trade Commissioners in continents other than Europe, beginning with Australia. On the other side of the picture, the cutting off of many supplies which normally came from abroad has created many gaps, not only in India itself, but also in neighbouring countries, which Indian industry can hope to fill. I am glad to note that business and industrial interests in the country have not been slow to undertake enterprises designed to fill these gaps, while my Government have done their best to mobilise technical skill for their assistance by setting up the Board of Industrial and Scientific Research, which, through its numerous Sub-Committees and in collaboration with the Director of Research, has already produced valuable results.

The war has thrown a considerably increased burden upon the Provincial police forces, for, apart from their normal responsibility for law and order, they now are under obligation to undertake the safeguarding of places of vital importance to the internal defence of the country, such as power plants, major installations, and a number of protected places, in addition to affording an enhanced degree of protection to railways, and to watch and ward against sabotage. That burden has been materially eased by the establishment in all Provinces of the Civic Guard, and by the assistance given by that body in maintaining internal security. The response to the call for volunteers has been most encouraging. The Civic Guard has on many occasions already given practical proof of its usefulness and efficiency, and I am confident that it will, as its training progresses, play a most valuable and important part in India's war effort.

Though immediate danger to India from enemy air raids may not be apparent at the moment, he would be a wise man who could accurately foretell the development of the war, and we must be prepared for all eventualities. For this reason Air Raid Precautions in India have been initiated in a manner designed to form a solid basis on which further expansion can take place. Close liaison exists on this most important matter between the Central Government and the Provinces; and its expert advice, and substantial grants-in-aid, have been placed at their disposal. Good progress has been achieved in the past year, a progress made possible by the willing co-operation and voluntary effort of the people of India. There is however still much to be done, and I need not remind you, Gentlemen, of the value of the help which you can individually give to stimulate interest and co-operation on the part of the public and of local bodies in the areas from which you come.

Since the last meeting of the Legislature, compulsory national service has been introduced in India for European British subjects. For the smooth working of the machinery for enrolment I gratefully acknowledge the work of the National Service Advisory Committees—all of it voluntary; and the spirit of willing service has been evident on every hand. The European community in India have yielded to none in the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which they have shown in the common cause.

In the treatment of enemy aliens the policy of my Government has been guided by the desire not to disorganise the good work of missionary institutions, and to avoid imposing unnecessary hardship on innocent and harmless people. Although, as a result of events in Europe last summer, reinternment, or restriction to parole centres, was necessary for most of those who had earlier been released on the recommendation of a special Committee, the case of some priests and missionaries, of certain Jews of enemy nationality, and of other enemy aliens who can show that they have consistently and publicly opposed the Nazi or Fascist régime, is receiving special consideration.

The outbreak of war found many Indian students in the United Kingdom. Arrangements were promptly made through the High Commissioner in London to repatriate those desiring to return to India, and to maintain a register of those who preferred to continue their studies overseas. To both categories the High Commissioner was authorised to make financial advances where necessary. In the case of students returning to India the Universities have all, I am glad to say, agreed that the period already spent at a British University should be recognised for the purpose of enabling them to complete their degree courses in India. Special arrangements have also been made, under the general control of the Chief Justice of India, for holding Bar Examinations in this country.

Realising as I do the importance attached by the Muslim community to the performance of the sacred duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, I am happy that, in spite of wartime difficulties, it has been possible to arrange shipping facilities,—at Calcutta, this year, as well as at Bombay and Karachi,—and with the collaboration of His Majesty's Government, to prevent fares for the sea passage soaring beyond the reach of the classes from whom the pilgrims are mainly drawn. Indeed I understand that, thanks to a substantial reduction in charges announced by the Saudi Arabian Government, and to our being prepared, even in wartime, to permit the taking of gold sovereigns out of India by the pilgrims, to enable them to overcome exchange difficulties in the Hedjaz, the minimum cost to the pilgrim will be substantially lower than it would otherwise have been. In fact it will be lower this year than last.

The greatly increased burden which has fallen on the Government of India in connection with war preparation and war work has inevitably necessitated some expansion of staff and some additional expenditure. It would clearly be a shortsighted policy to reject expenditure which, on a broad view, would assist in the mobilization of the economic resources of the country and further the successful prosecution of the war. But I would take this opportunity to say that I am fully alive to the vital importance of economy in the civil administration, and of eliminating all forms of avoidable expenditure at a time when we have no choice but to spend large sums of money on defence and to augment the revenues of the Government by additional taxation.

In spite of their immediate pre-occupation with questions arising out of the war my Government continue to keep a vigilant watch on

the interests of Indians overseas. In the Union of South Africa, the Broome Commission, which was appointed in May last to enquire into alleged penetration of Indians into predominantly European areas in Natal and Transvaal, commenced its labours last month. The ban on the assisted emigration of unskilled labour to Malaya continues while questions of the wages of Indian labourers and of the status of the Indian community are still under discussion with the Malayan Governments. In regard to Burma, my Government are awaiting the results of Mr. Baxter's enquiry into the facts concerning Indian immigration into that country, and they are also watching with close attention the course of certain recent legislation which may directly affect the Indian community. An experienced officer was sent to Mauritius to ascertain recent developments in that Colony, so far as they affect Indians. I regret that the recent conversations between my Government and the representatives of the Government of Ceylon should not have had more satisfactory results.

In the field of foreign affairs, my Government's relations with Nepal continue to be most cordial. The friendly attitude of His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal and of his Government is evident from His Highness' offer of two Brigades of Nepalese troops for the defence of India and from the generous donations of money made by His Highness and the members of his family. This attitude of ready and friendly co-operation is greatly appreciated by the Government of India.

His Holiness the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, and his incarnation was discovered towards the end of 1939. The installation ceremony of His Holiness the new Dalai Lama took place in February last. A mission headed by Mr. B. J. Gould, who is responsible for the Government of India's relations with our friendly neighbour, Tibet, was deputed to Lhasa to attend the ceremony on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India.

In October I and my Government had the pleasure of welcoming to India a Mission of Goodwill from Thailand. The Mission were the guests of the Government of India. During their visit they were able to make wide contacts and to cover much ground. On their return to Thailand they took with them precious Buddhist relics from Taxila presented to the Thai Government by the Government of India, who also arranged, at the request of the Mission, for earth from certain sacred Buddhist places in India to be placed on the aeroplane on which they returned to Bangkok. I am confident that the visit of this Mission will help to cement still further the bonds which already exist between India and Thailand.

From China we are glad to welcome Dr. Tai Chi Tao, an eminent Buddhist scholar, and Chairman of the China Public Service Commission.

His Excellency the Governor of the French Establishments in India issued an announcement in September last identifying French India with the cause of free France.

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform the House that the relations between India and Afghanistan continue to rest on a firm and friendly basis, and that there are signs that the bonds between our two countries are being drawn even closer in the cultural and commercial fields. I am glad, too, to say that in spite of the disturbance of men's minds by a period of war and intensive rumour the Frontier tribes have on the whole remained remarkably steady. The whole tribal belt from Chitral to the sea has been entirely quiet save in Waziristan, and there are many signs that the tribesmen are in sympathy with the democratic front. And in Waziristan, largely as the result of measures undertaken to control portions of tribal territory which had served as harbourage for the collection of gangs, a better spirit prevails, and the peace of the Districts of the North-West Frontier has recently been less disturbed than at any time during the last few years.

Since I last addressed you Labour in India has not been without its problems ; but I am happy to say that owing to the good sense of all concerned there has been no major dislocation of work since the war began, and I believe that Indian labour will continue its substantial contribution to the war effort. When disputes have arisen, the influence of my Government has always been thrown in favour of adjustment and conciliation rather than dictation. Complaints of inadequate wages in the circumstances of the war situation have always received careful and anxious consideration : an examination has already been made of the cost of living in the coalfields and an enquiry has also been instituted into the claim of railway labour for a dearness allowance.

My Government has taken steps to obtain skilled labour for those industries which are engaged on war production, ensuring at the same time that the interests of the artisan are safeguarded. Under the Technical Training Scheme, in the operation of which I have to acknowledge the willing assistance of Provincial Governments, we have planned not only to meet the immediate needs of the war effort, but by providing well-equipped and competently staffed institutions for training thousands of our young men to be skilled technicians, we have kept in view the needs, when peace is at last restored, of India's expanding industries.

Let me turn now to the constitutional field. I will not detain you with any detailed recapitulation of the discussions with political parties that have taken place since the outbreak of war. As you know I have had discussions at various times with all the leading political figures in this country, and with representatives of all major parties and communities ; and I can, I think, claim to have spared no effort to bring the parties together, and to reach an accommodation in the constitutional field which would be generally acceptable. It is a matter of profound disappointment to me that those endeavours should not have been more successful than they have been, and that the differences which have stood in the way of that constitutional advance which His Majesty's Government have been so anxious to see should still persist.

The latest and the most important of the endeavours made by His Majesty's Government is represented by the statement which I was authorised to issue three months ago.

On August the 8th I published a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That statement reaffirmed the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament. In order to remove all doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, it declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-government should—subject to due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her—be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. At the same time it emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in the framing of that scheme, and it made it clear that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. The method by which these two indispensably linked objects were to be secured was the setting up, on the basis of friendly agreement, of a body representative of all the principal elements in India's national life to devise the framework of the new constitution. This body was to be set up immediately after the war, but His Majesty's Government expressed their desire to welcome and promote in the meantime every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves that could prepare the way for agreement upon its form and procedure, as well as upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. Meanwhile, in order to associate Indian public opinion more closely with the Government of India at the Centre, and in the hope of promoting the unity of India by the creation of new bonds of understanding through practical and responsible co-operation in the task of governing India and directing the Indian war effort, I was authorised to invite Indian political leaders to join my Executive Council, as well as to establish a War Advisory Council containing representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

Outside India these proposals, both in their immediate and in their larger ultimate aspects, have been welcomed as liberal in conception, and as representing the best practical solution of existing differences. In India itself, too, they have met with the support of a large body of opinion: in their more immediate aspect, however, namely, the expansion of my Executive Council, I have not secured the response that was hoped from political leaders in India. The reasons for which they have been unable to accept the proposals of His Majesty's Government are conflicting, and, indeed, in some ways mutually destructive. However that may be, the effect is that the

major political parties concerned are not in present circumstances prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them.

His Majesty's Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future. His Majesty's Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council, or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment.

Gentlemen, I do not wish to conceal from you the deep disappointment which I feel at this failure to secure, within the framework of the constitution, due expression of that ultimate and essential unity in which the hope and the labours of so many of us have been founded, and upon which must depend the future position and influence of India in time to come. Nevertheless I would counsel you not to be cast down by the immediate difficulties that beset the path of political advance in this great country. For, indeed, stress of war may well in the end come to strengthen and extend that very process of unification, and to hasten the achievement of those constitutional changes implicit in self-government with unity, which at this moment it appears to obstruct. Meanwhile in the circumstances of the world today the duty of my Government is clear. It is to press forward with all speed and in every field of activity those preparations upon which rests the capacity of this country to wage war with ever-growing strength and successfully to overcome the hazards that confront her. Many things may happen before I address you again ; but whatever the trials and anxieties that lie before us, however sharp the tests to which we may be subjected, we may have faith in the capacity of India to continue to play a glorious part in this righteous war against the forces of darkness and oppression. With all faith and confidence in your resolution and affection, I invite you and all men and women of goodwill throughout this land to support in this critical hour, with all strength of body and spirit, the cause of India and the Empire."

30. COAL MINING IN INDIA

Speech to the Indian Mining and Colliery Owners' Associations and the Indian Mining Federation at Dhanbad on December 14, 1940 :— Dec. 14,
1940

"The coal mining industry of India dates back to the time of Warren Hastings. Permission to work coal mines in Bengal was first granted in 1774, and the important total of about 100 tons were delivered to Government in 1775. For various reasons this adventure did not succeed. No further attempt was made for nearly 40 years until 1814, when mining was commended in Raniganj.

The first systematic geological survey of the field was made during 1845-46 and a more detailed examination was made during 1858 and 1860, by which time some 50 collieries were already in existence. The development since 1868 has been rapid. In 1868 the output of the coal mines in India was only about 500,000 tons. The present output exceeds 28 million tons annually.

During these years, with the growth of public consciousness in such matters, there has also been a gradual but marked development in the measures taken for the safety of those who work underground. We who look back may at times feel that progress has been too slow, but it would be a mistake to think that what is clear to us was equally obvious to our predecessors. Moreover, as in so many other industries, the question has been complicated by the participation in the industry of those who can barely afford to make it pay. The problem of adapting the requirements of safety to the capacity of all owners to shoulder the financial burdens involved has not been easy. But in this work Government have been assisted by the concentration of the various interests concerned with coal mining into the three Associations whose guest I am privileged to be this afternoon. In your Chairman's speech a reference has been made to the measures undertaken for the improvement of safety in mining during my term of office. In such measures the co-operation which my Government has received from the industry, through your three Associations, has been of the utmost value. This collaboration has become closer with the growth of understanding between the industry and my Government; and of this collaboration the most fruitful result in recent years has been the passage of the Coal Mines Safety Act of 1939. I think that in the years to come this Act will be regarded as one of the turning points in the development of the coal mining industry in India. The steps taken under it will ensure that coal miners are safe from many of the dangers to which they were previously exposed, while stowing as a safety measure will do much to conserve our available resources of coal. This morning I have seen some of the work which is being financed by the Coal Mines Stowing Board set up under this Act. In the course of the last few years the fires in the two areas which I have visited have resulted in several million tons of coal being burnt underground; and they have also threatened the safety of a large number of coal mines in the district. The Mines Department, under the extended powers which they now possess, do what they can to see that in all mining operations due care is taken. But there is the further question of prevention, and it is that which the activities of the Stowing Board are designed to ensure. I am glad that the Board, while settling the necessary preliminaries before granting assistance towards stowing, have devoted their attention to dealing with these fires, and I am satisfied by my inspection this morning that the work of bringing them under control is being energetically and successfully pursued."

31. INITIATIVE IN CONSTITUTIONAL FIELD

In the constitutional field, the twelve months of 1940 were "a history of continual initiative on our side," but it was sad that no advantage was taken by the parties of the genuine, sincere and most generous offer made on behalf of His Majesty's Government on August 8, said Lord Linlithgow in reviewing the year's problems at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce on December 16, 1940:—

Dec. 16,
1940

"Gentlemen,—I am very glad to meet you again today. This is the fifth occasion on which I have had the honour of opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and I deeply appreciate your kindness in again inviting me to be present. I well know the importance of the body of opinion which you represent—an importance greater than ever when the business community is making so magnificent a contribution to the prosecution of the war.

I would like, Sir, before going further, to thank you for your reference to the providential escape of Their Majesties from harm. We know the unsparing and self-sacrificing work of the King and Queen, and the deep affection and real gratitude that they have earned for their inspiring leadership. That they should have escaped these deliberate and repeated attacks by the German Air Force is a source of the deepest relief to us all.

I would like, too to associate myself, if I may, with the tribute you have just paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and to Lady Mary Herbert. I know how much the great war effort of Bengal owes to their unfailing and active help and interest, and how much the Governor's extensive touring in his first year of office has been appreciated.

Gentlemen, your Chairman in his speech this morning concentrated on matters affecting the war, and in my reply I propose to do the same. At a time when everything we do must be tested in its relation to the war and to its effective prosecution, we can well be proud of the help that India has given since the war began, whether in men (and I would pay a warm tribute to the response of the European community); in materials; in money; or in gifts such as the magnificent gifts for the purchase of aircraft which have come from so many Provinces and States.

Much as we have done, there remains still more that we can do, and the obligation upon everyone of us is to see in what way we can still further contribute to the successful termination of the war and the attainment of the ideals for which it is being fought. The great organisations which you, Gentlemen, represent here today have spared no pains in their power over the last fifteen months to organise the war effort. I most deeply appreciate their help. I ask you, so far as it is in your power to do so, to increase it. I know that in making that appeal I shall get from you, and from those you represent, the answer that I want.

You, Sir, in the speech you have just made have reminded us of the great events that have taken place since we met here a year ago. The last twelve months have been a period of profound and significant change. None of us a year ago would have anticipated the collapse of France. Some of us may have anticipated the unprovoked German attack on the Scandinavian Countries, on the Low Countries, and the equally unprovoked and wanton attack made by Italy, with such little success we are glad to think today, on her friendly neighbour, Greece. But there has been a cynical opportunism about the policy of the Axis Powers in these wanton aggressions, in these renewed and aggravated breaches of international law, and of the sanctity of treaties, for which few of us would have been prepared. Equally, while a year ago we had much reason to anticipate the violence of the German attack on the United Kingdom, the intensification of submarine warfare and of the air offensive, we can today be proud and happy that that attack, pressed home in disregard of every accepted convention of international life, backed by all the military might of a country that for years had been preparing in secret to take advantage of the trust of others in treaties and agreements, should have produced so little effect. Great material damage has been done, though little of it, very little indeed, of any real military significance or importance. Immense hardship and suffering has been caused. Before us as I speak there lies the probability, indeed the certainty, of many months more of warfare of the sternest character before the looked-for decision can be reached. At home our people are bearing today not merely the brunt of the German attack, but the strain of the inclement season of the year. For all that, they are, as everyone of us knows, carrying their burden with a serenity, a confidence, a will to resist and to conquer, a readiness to respond to any call that may be made, that has never been surpassed in the whole history of our race. The toughness of spirit, the unity of purpose, of the mother country has commanded universal admiration and the inspiring and courageous telegram that you, Sir, have just read to us from the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire, and the contents of which we all so deeply appreciate, is eloquent testimony of the resolution with which she looks to the future.

How can we best help those who are carrying so heavy a weight, and who carry it to so large an extent on behalf of India? That is my constant thought. Ever since the war began, I have lost no opportunity of making plain to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty's Government the anxiety of India to make the fullest contribution that she can, in whatever way His Majesty's Government consider most helpful to themselves. Our wish to do so they well know, and, I can assure you, deeply appreciate. They are well aware of our readiness to raise men, as many men as His Majesty's Government desire and as we can equip—and I am glad to be able to tell you today that in those brilliantly conceived and executed operations which are taking place in North Africa, Indian troops have shown themselves worthy of their highest traditions, and

have borne themselves with the utmost distinction. His Majesty's Government are aware of the immensity of our natural resources, the extent of the assistance that we can give both immediately and in the future by the provision of raw materials and in manufactured materials. They know, too, how ready we are in this country to relieve them if they so desire, of some of the burden of the manufacture of warlike goods and stores, of aeroplanes and of organised supply to the whole of the Eastern area in such a way as to secure the results most conducive to victory. But clearly it must be for His Majesty's Government, who alone can see the whole picture in its true perspective, to set the pace, to decide for themselves how we can best help them, to let us know at any time whether they want men, whether they want particular stores, whether we can assist them by establishing factories and the like in this country, whether if so they can help us to set them up by the provision of the technicians, the machine tools, in certain cases the materials and machinery requisite for their operation. If there are ways in which greater use can be made by His Majesty's Government of the immense manufacturing potentialities of India, of her great resources in men and in material, India is ready and anxious to help, and His Majesty's Government well know it.

How best to assist industry in India engaged on war production has been under constant scrutiny. The National Service Ordinance recently enacted aims at securing that the skilled labour at present available in this country shall be put to the most efficient use, and the technical training scheme that we have devised (and which is estimated to cost very nearly a crore of rupees) is designed to increase in a year our supply of such labour by no fewer than 15,000 men. Those measures are designed not only to assist war effort. They have in view also the avoidance so far as possible of dislocation in those industries which in the main subserve civilian needs. Speaking to you, Gentlemen, with your great experience of industrial undertakings, I need not emphasize the difficulty of the problem of finding suitable instructors for so large a number. I hope that by far the greater proportion of the instructors we need will be found in India. But this country cannot meet the whole demand, and I appealed therefore to His Majesty's Government to help us by lending us a small number of men trained in the latest methods now in use in the United Kingdom, who could work with and assist instructors locally recruited. Though their own need is so very great, they readily agreed to comply with our request. They have indeed gone further. Thanks to the imagination and the generous help of Mr. Bevin, the present Minister of Labour, His Majesty's Government have given facilities for the training of a number of Indian artisans in factories in the United Kingdom. I have every hope that that experiment will prove a great success. I need not add how great will be the importance of the added experience which these men will bring back from their training in the United Kingdom both in the furtherance of our own technical training schemes to which the Bevin scheme is complementary, and to industry generally.

In your remarks, Sir, you touched on the contraction of export markets due to the war. The policy of economic warfare followed by the Government of India in the closest association with His Majesty's Government and the Dominions Government entails unquestionably hardships, and real hardships, on the commercial community, and the only justification for it can be, as I know that you will all of you agree with me, that that policy is calculated, and is designed, to expedite the termination of the war. But while pursuing that policy in collaboration and in the closest liaison with His Majesty's Government, my Government are concerned to mitigate as far as possible the injurious effects which it inevitably involves. It is with that object that the Export Advisory Council has been established. I am glad to hear that you should lend your approval to the constitution of that body, and that you should feel that it can play a useful part in the solution of the difficult problems that in present circumstances must constantly arise.

My Government have had under the closest investigation the possibility of alternative markets for products the export of which has been curtailed and for increasing India's exports to countries with which normal trade relations continue. A Trade Commissioner has been appointed for Australia and New Zealand, and that appointment will, I am sure, assist the growing trade between India and those two Dominions both now and in the post-war period. Consideration is being given to appointing Trade Commissioners elsewhere and to deputing Trade Missions to some of the countries in which there is a prospect of increased trade either in raw products or in finished goods. The impetus given by the necessities of the war has, I am glad to say, resulted also in the establishment of certain new industries, and I trust that we may look as time goes on for still further development in that direction. The researches of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with which leading scientists and industrialists are associated, have, I understand, already borne good fruit, and the problem of utilising their results so as to enable industries to be started is under active examination. I do not propose today to go into the detail of this industrial development. But I might touch on one industry which, being a key industry, is expected to be in full production very soon. I refer to the aluminium industry. The raw material is available in large quantity in this country. The facilities that are now being afforded by my Government are calculated to result in early production of a commodity which is most necessary and important for purposes of the war, and which will be of equal value after the return of peace. And the aluminium industry is only one of many of which I trust that it will be possible to say the same.

I listened, Sir, with the closest attention to the references you have made to the work of the Department of Supply; and I realise, and appreciate, the spirit in which they are offered. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the Department is to a very great extent based, I think I am right in saying, on the feeling that it has failed to plan forward and to put industry into continuous production.

I would suggest, however, that that dissatisfaction arises to some extent from the fact that the functions and powers of a supply organisation, in India, as in any other country, are limited in certain obvious ways. No Supply organisation decides or can decide for itself what articles are required for the Defence Forces. Its function is to meet the demands placed upon it. That, I am glad to say, we can claim that the Supply Department has at no stage or time failed to do. But many of the demands placed upon it come from abroad, many of them a stream of small orders, some of them demands very substantial indeed: and as you, I know, appreciate, it is not open to the Government of India to dictate terms to overseas authorities who desire to procure supplies (which we are only too glad to let them have to the maximum of our capacity) from this country. All that we can do is to urge as vigorously as we can on those authorities the need for a forward programme of production, and I am very glad indeed to let you know today that within the last few weeks our representations have borne fruit, and that the Department of Supply will now be able to go ahead on a firm and substantial forward programme for General Stores; while on the Munitions side, in the same way—munitions, incidentally, required in great part not for ourselves but for overseas—the indications are that we shall shortly be making a very heavy demand indeed on industry.

Could we have reached that position at an earlier stage in the war, nobody would have been more happy than I myself. But that is an issue closely linked up with the relations between the overseas authorities who require our goods and ourselves. Large orders, on the chance of their being taken up later, but for which no authority was prepared at the moment to pay would not, I am certain, have been welcome to any business man, and it goes without saying that progress on a massive scale can be made only when there is a purchaser who is prepared to pay, and to pay for forward production.

For all that, and despite the admitted limitations upon many of the activities of the Department of Supply its record since I addressed you a year ago stands scrutiny. As you, Sir, have just reminded us, the business done by the two purchasing organisations under the Department amounted in the first year of the war to no less a figure than 56½ crores. By the end of 1940 we shall have supplied for war purposes 280,000 tons of Indian timber, at a cost of just over Rs.273 lakhs; cotton canvas and cotton jute union canvas valued at Rs.270 lakhs; 12 million garments costing something like Rs.700 lakhs; and tents costing over Rs.500 lakhs. The labour force employed on the making of Army clothing (to take one item alone) has risen from 750 before the war to about 18,000 today. These are a few typical figures on the General Stores side. On the Munitions Production side, we have supplied to His Majesty's Government 120 million rounds of small arms ammunition, nearly 400,000 filled shells of various calibres, large quantities of explosives, and very large quantities of engineering stores. We are also procuring naval craft at an estimated cost of Rs.74 lakhs.

I have tried to deal, Gentlemen, (and I know the importance that you attach to this matter and that is my apology for devoting so much time to it) with the basic criticism that there has been a failure to plan and to make full use of industry. But there are, as I know from conversations with many of you, many complaints too about the working of the Supply organisation in matters of detail. Many of those complaints are justified, and the Government of India will do their best to remove their causes. We will welcome, too, at any time any suggestions for improvement and any specific complaints, and you may be certain that I shall see myself that any such suggestions and any such complaints are most fully and speedily investigated.

War Supply administration, whether in India or in the United Kingdom, is not easy administration. Those responsible for it, like those responsible for war industrial effort, have to deal with conditions which change very rapidly, and with problems which present themselves without warning and which demand immediate solution. I make no attempt to justify any failure there may have been to keep pace with the requirements of the situation. But I know how disturbing in many ways war inevitably proves to commerce and industry, and I can assure you that the difficulties are not confined to your side of that partnership on which all War Supply depends. I hope and believe that as both the Department and Industry settle down to the programme of forward production which we have throughout been so anxious to secure, the complaints I mention, the importance of which I fully accept, will disappear, and you may take it from me that no effort is being spared, as I speak today, to remove their causes.

Before I leave this vital question of War Supply, I should like with your permission to touch on one or two matters in the field of higher policy. Since I last addressed you, there have been two events of great importance, for both of which, I am glad to say, India can claim to have been very largely responsible. The first was the arrival in India of the Ministry of Supply Mission under Sir Alexander Roger, which will, I am confident, enable us to make much more rapid progress in the supply of munitions. The idea that such a mission should be sent to India originated in India many months ago, and, although I should have been only too happy had it come to fruition earlier than it did, and in the spring of this year, I am most grateful to the Ministry of Supply for their acceptance of it at a moment of critical importance.

The arrival of the Mission preceded by a few weeks the opening of the Eastern Group Conference. This Conference, as you know, was called to consider the war supply problems of the Empire countries east of Suez. The suggestion that it should be held was sent from India, again many months ago, and I feel that it was not held too soon. Some of you gentlemen here today took part in the Conference as Advisers, and I should like to pay a public tribute today to the great service done by the Advisers both in placing their experience at its disposal, and in collecting and arranging the available facts for final consideration by it. For reasons that you will appreciate I cannot today enter into the conclusions and the recommendations of the

conference. But it was generally agreed by the visiting Delegations, the Ministry of Supply Mission, and the Indian Delegation, that the Conference accomplished what it set out to do, and laid the foundation of a sound co-ordinated War Supply policy. The Government of India had no hesitation in accepting its recommendations, and I hope that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the other participating Governments will find it possible to do the same; and that we shall be able to settle down without delay to give effect to its proposals.

So much for India's contribution to the war in terms of labour and supply. I would add only that, while my Government is fully alive to the necessity of maintaining and developing industry in this country as part of the war effort, as a corollary, it is most desirable that the off-take of manpower for the fighting services should not deprive industry of personnel vital to its existence. While we are pressing forward with our schemes of expansion of the armed forces of the Crown, and development of supply, the requirements of Indian industry in manpower are never absent from the mind of my Government.

Let me turn now to the political field. As I speak to you today we are faced in this country, to my deep regret, with a movement, supported by the Congress Party, which is open to grave misunderstanding outside. Leaders of the Congress Party have publicly stated that they do not desire to embarrass His Majesty's Government in the conduct of the war. But they have claimed, at the same time, in the interest of the creed of non-violence, the right to urge the country not to help Britain's war effort with men or with money. You will have seen, Gentlemen, the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and myself last September in that connection. I made it clear that we in this country had no desire to suppress legitimate criticism within legitimate limits, and I referred to the limits set by His Majesty's Government in the case of conscientious objectors at home. Broadly, the effect is that while a conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of trying to persuade others, whether soldiers nor munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort. But Mr. Gandhi was unable to accept this as adequate in the conditions of India, and when I asked him if he desired to be in a position to dissuade labour from working on war equipment he told me, as you will remember, that while he would not preach to workers at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment he thought it essential that Congressmen and non-Congressmen should be free to deliver addresses and otherwise to call on people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way that would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

That is clearly not a position that we can acquiesce in. I have every respect for genuine conscientious objection; and none of us in the world today can wish to see violence supreme, or wantonly resort to arms. But to arms taken up armed defence is the only answer,

deep and sincere as is the hatred of all of us for war. And we have a duty to this country to see that India's war effort, which, I am certain, has India behind it, is not in any way impeded; that not a single sepoy is deprived of the arms and ammunition that he needs, whether by speeches or by more active forms of opposition. I regret all the more that we should have to deal with a movement of this character at this moment, since I do not believe that it corresponds in the very least degree to the true feelings of this country. India, I am convinced, remains as united in its detestation of Hitlerism, and of all that it stands for as it has been from the very beginning of the war, a detestation to which the utterances of political leaders of every party have borne eloquent witness.

Let me say a word now about the constitutional position. When I spoke to you a year ago I was fresh from my discussions with the principal political leaders. To my great satisfaction I had been able to bring Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi together for the first time for many years. I knew, too, the minds of the leaders of political India on the constitutional position. But I had to admit that the efforts which His Majesty's Government and I on their behalf had made were so far abortive; and that the problem which confronted us and confronted India remained unsolved.

I was for all that full of hope. I knew the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to help to solve that problem. I trusted that the stress of war, the growing appreciation of the attitude of His Majesty's Government, and of their sincerity, would produce its effect. Again I have to confess to failure and to disappointment. I will not weary you with the history of the last twelve months in the constitutional field. You know it only too well. It has been a history of continual initiative on our side. Everything possible has been done to remove misunderstandings, to set out in detail the proposals of His Majesty's Government, to bring home to Indian political leaders, and parties, and communities, that His Majesty's Government were only too anxious for their collaboration in the Central Government in the prosecution of the war, only too anxious to transfer real power and real authority to them. I will say nothing of the numerous discussions I had throughout the year, time after time, with one prominent leader after another. But I will claim that the final proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodied in the statement I made on their behalf on 8th August, represented a genuine, a sincere and a most generous offer, and it seems to me a sad thing that at a time such as this no advantage should have been taken of it by those for whom it was designed.

Suggestions have been made that we may have not made our intentions clear. For that suggestion, Gentlemen, I can see no sufficient basis. Our intentions—our proposals—are crystal clear. No form of words could have made them clearer. They have been set out in my statement of 8th August. They have been debated in Parliament. The Secretary of State, on various occasions, in speeches of the utmost lucidity, has analysed and described them. I cannot believe that they have not been accepted because those to whom they were made did not understand their meaning.

Let me, at the risk of weighing unduly on you, again remind you of their terms. They reaffirmed first as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

To remove all doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, they declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-Government should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her, be primarily that of Indians themselves ; and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic, and political structure of Indian life.

They repeated (and I can assure you from the conversations I have had with political leaders that this is a point of great importance) the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing that scheme.

They made it clear, too, that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. (You, Gentlemen, need no emphasis from me as to the importance and the necessity of that guarantee. It would be foolish to imagine for a moment that any solution of the problems of India can be found by ignoring or burking the problem of the minorities. They are one of the most important things in this country today.)

To devise the framework of the new constitution immediately after the war, His Majesty's Government were ready to see a body set up representative of all the principal elements in India's national life. (We cannot clearly in the midst of a struggle for existence get down to the niceties of constitutional discussion : nor can we, with the pressing claims of the war on our attention hope to do justice to the intricate and complicated problems that the framing of a constitution involves.)

Pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government repeated that they were only too anxious to welcome and promote every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body ; and about the principles and the outlines of the constitution.

And, in the meantime, they proposed to expand at once the Government of India by the inclusion in it of Indian political leaders ; and to set up a War Advisory Council which should contain representatives of the Indian States as well as of British India.

Those were the proposals of His Majesty's Government. Those proposals, I venture to repeat, were as generous in character as they were sincere in conception. It has been a profound disappointment to me that they should have had no better reception. As, Gentlemen, you are all aware, there was no sufficient degree of general support

from the major political parties in this country for those proposals to justify His Majesty's Government in going ahead with them at this stage. One important political party indeed rejected them out of hand, and with no indication of close consideration. Familiar as you are with the intricate problems of India, with the difficulties we all of us have to face, you will, I am certain, share my view that if there is to be any prospect of harmonious working in this country, there must be a sufficient degree of general agreement behind any constitutional changes that may be made, and a sufficient degree of general support for those changes. The reasons for which the great political parties rejected at this stage the proposals I have just mentioned were, as I told the Central Legislature recently, conflicting, and indeed in some ways mutually destructive. But the fact remains; and it is that we cannot at this stage find that degree of agreement in this country, that degree of support for the scheme of constitutional advance, which would justify His Majesty's Government in proceeding immediately on the lines I have just indicated.

Let me, however, again make it clear first, that His Majesty's Government and I remain as anxious as ever to see a solution. Throughout the whole of this constitutional discussion, the initiative has come from His Majesty's Government and from myself. At no stage have any constructive proposals capable of realisation in the conditions of India and in the conditions of the modern world been put forward to us. We have had to do our best, and we have done our best, to find the largest possible measure of common agreement, and to endeavour to persuade the parties concerned to accept that largest measure of common agreement, even if it meant some abatement of their own particular claims as against other parties in the interests of India. We have not been successful. But His Majesty's Government and I are satisfied that the proposals put forward by me on their behalf on 8th August last remain the best solution of the problems of this country that can be found at this time. We are satisfied that, given those internal factors of which no wise statesman can fail to take full account, they represent the most extensive measure that can be contemplated, and in those circumstances His Majesty's Government keep those proposals open. They hope that as time passes, as there is more opportunity for reflection on the real power and the real authority that their acceptance would transfer to Indian hands, there will be a greater readiness on the part of the principal political parties in this country to take advantage of them.

Circumstances here, the background, the factors in the situation, are not the same as they are in the United Kingdom. It would be foolish to refuse to recognise that fact, to refuse to recognise that some adjustments of a particular character may be called for, in dealing with the constitutional problems of India, in order to reconcile the conflict of view, the difference of culture, of tradition and of temperament, of the great communities, and the great political parties. And I would add this. It is but natural in times such as these, when, in the different circumstances of English democracy, the affairs of the State are being guided at this critical moment by a national government, that the idea

of a national government for India should have received the prominence which it has in this country. With that idea we all of us sympathise. But, Gentlemen, and I speak with a full knowledge of the background and of the difficulties, I am satisfied that the proposals of 8th August, the opportunity they gave for the participation in the Central Government of India and in the conduct of the war of the representatives of the leading political parties, represent more closely than any other scheme that can at this time be devised a national government for India—a government, associated through the War Advisory Council with the Indian States, that will contain within itself the representatives of those great parties and communities, that will exercise full and real influence on the conduct of the war, leaving to the post-war discussions which I have already mentioned the final settlement of those intricate questions, whether between the communities here, or between British India and the Indian States, or between India and His Majesty's Government, which have got to be solved before the problem of India's future can be finally settled.

Gentlemen, speaking to you today, I ask for your continued support, and for that help that you, with your innumerable contacts in this country, are in so good a position to lend, to assist India in the solution of these problems. I repeat that the initiative has throughout come from His Majesty's Government and from myself on their behalf. The fact that we have so far failed to reconcile those conflicting aims and objectives of the principal parties and interests in this country which have got to be reconciled before progress is possible does not deter us. Our objective remains to lead India to the proclaimed goal of Dominion Status, and that as early as may be. There is nothing more that we can do than we have done. We are entitled to claim, we do claim, and I claim today, that it is for the Indian parties themselves, for those communities, interests and political leaders concerned, to get together and to see what they can do by way of reaching an accommodation with one another against the background which I have just mentioned. It has not been the fault of His Majesty's Government that matters are not further forward today. They have done everything in their power. For the suggestions that are being made from various quarters that Indian political leaders and Indian political parties should at this point come together and seek to reach agreement among themselves His Majesty's Government have nothing but the fullest goodwill and the fullest sympathy.

Gentlemen, I will not keep you longer. These are indeed stirring and anxious times. Your Chairman referred in most friendly and flattering terms to the extension of my Viceroyalty. A further period in this great office, the burdens of which I can tell you from experience over a period so eventful as that for which I have held it, are crushing in their weight, is no light thing for any man to contemplate. But if, in that further period by which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend my term, I can continue to assist in however small a degree in the effective and active prosecution of the war, in India's contribution to war effort, if I can give India a lead, a direction, which will enable her more fully to express the anxiety of her peoples and

herself to give that help which it is so abundantly clear that they are passionately anxious to give to the achievement of our ideals, then indeed I shall be a happy and a fortunate man.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your friendly welcome today, for those words of encouragement which your Chairman has spoken, and, above all, for the assurance which he has given me of your continued support and understanding. There is nothing, I can assure you, that I more deeply value, and nothing that could be of greater assistance to a Viceroy so shortly about to enter on the sixth and the final year of this great office."

32. VOLUNTARY CIVIC SERVICES IN BENGAL

Dec. 17,
1940

Address to Civic Guards, A.R.P. organisations and other voluntary Civic Services at Calcutta on December 17, 1940 :

" Your Excellency, Sir Nazimuddin, Officers, Men and Women of the Calcutta Civic Guard and A.R.P. Organisations, I am very glad and proud to have met you and to have seen you on parade today. What I have seen fills me with encouragement, not only because I know that this great city will have to defend her against whatever dangers may threaten, from outside or from within, a keen, well-trained and disciplined body of citizens, but because I see before me also an admirable display of civic co-operation which befits the second city of the Empire and augurs well for the future of India.

You have voluntarily given up your leisure hours and your comfort to fit yourselves for the duty of protecting your fellow citizens, and they, I feel sure, recognise the unselfishness and the public spirit which have prompted you to undertake this task, and honour you for it.

The A.R.P. organisation has been under training for over a year and the Civic Guard for about six months.

The degree of progress which has been achieved by both is remarkable, and this, I know, is largely due to those instructors from Bengali military formations who have readily given their time and service to assist in the training.

The manner in which recruitment and training of the Civic Guard are proceeding in the districts of Bengal no less than in Calcutta itself, is most encouraging, and the carefully planned organisation, covering the whole of this city and providing the officers with regular opportunities for consultation and exchange of ideas, fulfils admirably the purpose for which these bodies have been raised all over India. I am delighted to know that much of this success is due to the lively interest which my friend Lord Sinha has taken in every phase of Civic Guard development.

It is also of particular interest to me to observe the extent of co-operation which exists between the Civic Guard and the Police. No Police force can function properly, even in normal times, without the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the public at large,

whose safety and the safety of whose property it is their main duty to protect. The increased co-operation which the present emergency has brought about between the Police and voluntary civic bodies, representative of the public, is a development of immense importance, and the spirit which it has engendered will, I am sure, be of lasting mutual benefit. It has already shown practical evidence of its value in the fine work done by the Civic Guard, acting with the Police, in keeping the peace during the recent strike of conservancy workers, and in controlling holiday crowds, and, with their colleagues of the A.R.P. during the recent and most successful trial black-out in this city.

You A.R.P. workers deserve a special tribute, since in Calcutta you led the way in voluntary war work, and in spite of initial delays in the supply of equipment, you have let nothing discourage you in pursuing steadily and unobtrusively your arduous and vitally important training. There are now five thousand of you, men and women, working in close co-operation with your colleagues of the Civic Guard, the Police and the Fire Services. You are building up a splendid organisation of rescue and demolition squads and on the medical side an ample provision of first-aid and hospital services.

We must all hope that the test of your proficiency after all these months of training will never come. But if it should come, I am confident, and the City of Calcutta is confident, that you are fully prepared to meet it and to grapple with it as bravely and as competently as your fellow workers in London and the British Isles, whose fortitude and heroism is inscribing day by day some of the most glorious annals of this war.

This parade typifies to my mind the determination of all loyal citizens of India to see this business through to the end—to the end of the forces of evil and destruction which are threatening the world. For, make no mistake, the tyranny against which you are prepared to defend your city threatens the lives and homes of peaceful citizens, not here nor in distant parts of the world only, but all over the world; and all those everywhere who value the precious gifts of peace and liberty and civilization must be prepared, as you are, to fight for them and defend them, whether the danger to them seems near or far. And when the victory is ours and the danger is at an end, India and the whole civilized world will thank you for the courage and steadfastness with which you have been prepared to bear your share in this momentous struggle.

Meanwhile, stand firm and persevere, and God be with you all."

33. FATHERS OF PRINCES' CHAMBER

Mar. 17,
1941

Speech in unveiling the busts of their late Highnesses of Gwalior, Patiala, and Nawanganar in the Chamber of Princes Hall on March 17, 1941.

"Your Highnesses,—I am grateful to His Highness the Chancellor and the Members and Representative Members of this Chamber for inviting me to preside over today's ceremony and unveil the busts of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Nawanganar and Patiala. Your Chancellor has paid a moving tribute to the memory of these three Princes, all of whom had, by varying and outstanding qualities and achievements, become familiar and popular figures in the India of their day. Nor were their fame and reputation confined to this country. The name of His late Highness of Nawanganar is still a household word in England by reason of his unique proficiency in England's national game. In that, as well as in other more serious spheres of public life, the late Maharaja of Patiala, too, won great distinction, while His Highness Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's personality was such as to inspire confidence and affection in all with whom he came in contact—from the lowliest of his subjects to the King-Emperor himself.

But we are today more concerned with the services they rendered to this Chamber with which all of them were so closely associated from those earliest days when, what was then known as the "Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs" first began to meet there in Delhi.

Of that aspect of their careers His Highness the Chancellor has spoken in sincere and eloquent terms, and I gladly associate myself with all that he has said. In speaking of the late Maharaja Jam Saheb, His Highness' words were very naturally charged with family affection, and the thought will no doubt have occurred to many of us, that nothing would have afforded greater pride and pleasure to His late Highness than to have known that the great office of Chancellor of this unique Assembly, which he himself had held with such industry, and distinction, would one day be so worthily filled by his successor on the *gaddi* of Nawanganar.

It will not be a conventional compliment or an undue straining of language if I say that this ceremony for which we have assembled today is, in respect of all the three Princes whose memory it is designed to perpetuate in this place, permeated by a certain filial sentiment, inasmuch as all of them had just claims to be described as fathers of the Chamber of Princes, for they had played no inconsiderable part in guiding the Chamber through its early days. For the vision which enabled them, as His Highness has reminded us, to appreciate its possibilities in the future, and to a great extent to carry them into actual effect, we may well be thankful, and it is for Your Highnesses of the present generation to see to it that the ideals and objects for which the Chamber was founded, and for which those whom we commemorate strove so loyally and well, are resolutely pursued, in the best interests of your Order as well as of India as a whole.

I trust that the marble effigies, which I am privileged now to unveil, will keep alive, for many generations to come, the great reputations which are so fresh in the memories of all of us present here today."

34. MADRAS LEADS

Extract from speech to the Provincial War Committee, Madras, on July 31, 1941:— **July 31,
1941**

"Satisfactory though the solid achievements of the last year have been, I see no reason to suppose that the year 1942 will not be, like its predecessors, a year of blood and toil, and tears and sweat. There is no excuse for slackening in our efforts, and Madras, I know, has not slackened hers. You lead the Provinces of India in the voluntary contributions which you have made for war purposes. These have already reached the splendid total of one million pounds sterling, and three of your districts East Godavari, Madura and Guntur—have topped (or nearly reached) the ten lakhs mark.

I am glad to be able to tell you that, in return for a contribution received from you last year, the first operational aircraft to be assembled in India for the Indian Air Force, will be named MADRAS. Already, three Fighter Squadrons in the Royal Air Force—one of Hurricanes, one Spitfires and one of Defiants—for which you have subscribed, carry the name of Madras into battle, and that is a record to be proud of. The Madras Defiant Squadron, I was delighted to see, has the highest bag of enemy planes—37 in a day—of any Fighter Command Squadron.

I was privileged, the other day, to convey to the Corporation of Madras the thanks of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies for a contribution towards the defences of Singapore. That was a valuable and imaginative gift, and it is a right instinct on the part of Madras to look to the soundness of the Eastern bastion of our defences. On the safety of Malaya depends ultimately, to a great extent, the safety of Madras.

This Presidency has subscribed two crores and eighty-one lakhs of rupees to Defence Loans out of a total, for the whole of India, of 69 crores of rupees. I make no secret of the fact that even the all-India total falls far short of what is required. The Government of India needs at least Rs. 100 crores a year—2 crores a week—from Defence Loans to meet expenditure on Indian war measures and the proper financing of war supplies operations in India. The cost of war supplies made by India to His Majesty's Government and to Allied Governments is repaid in sterling, but the actual payments to suppliers in India have to be made in rupees, for which a large volume of loan money is required—larger than we are getting at present. I hope that you, gentlemen, whose efforts have been so remarkably successful in the raising of war gifts, will not neglect this most important matter of encouraging subscriptions to war loans.

In the actual production of war supplies Madras has played a substantial part. Your Railway Workshops are engaged in the production of munitions; and, to name a few other essential items, textiles, leather goods, timber, chemicals and motor chassis are being produced in valuable quantities from this Presidency.

As for recruitment, I was able last year to congratulate you on the fact that, in the first nine months of the war, recruitment to the Army from Madras had been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency. Since then great strides have been made, and I soon hope to see a monthly recruitment rate of 5,000 reached in this Presidency—which, as I do not need to tell you, produces soldiers of a very special type and quality—largely as sappers, pioneers and mechanics—who have already rendered most valuable service in this war.

One of the four new Regiments recently approved by His Majesty is the Madras Regiment. It is intended that the battalions of this Regiment should be formed by regularizing existing Territorial Battalions, but this can only be done successfully if volunteers in adequate numbers come forward from the Territorial units to form the nucleus of the regular battalions. So far, I am sorry to say, the number of volunteers has not been as many as one might expect. I know how eager Madras was that this Regiment should be raised: I look to you, gentlemen, to see, now that it has been raised, that it is kept fully up to strength.

Hardly less important in the field of war effort than the production of money, supplies and recruits, are those humanitarian activities which lighten, for soldiers and civilians alike, the suffering caused by war. In this, Your Excellency's Joint War Charities Committee has not been backward. In the first year of the war you raised money which supplied ambulances for the British Red Cross and in the Middle East. Later you were able to turn your attention to the requirements of the Indian Expeditionary Force in Malaya, and Madras became the main port in India for the despatch of stores to the Far East—a role which is not likely to be diminished in importance. Your 200 work-parties produced nearly 300,000 articles during 1940 as well as contributing their share to the Central Red Cross Depot in Delhi: this year you have further undertaken a Red Cross postal message scheme, which has been of special value to your French neighbours in Pondicherry, and you have opened a War Stores Depot which has admirably discharged a heavy burden of work throughout the trying summer months.

In addition to these, your Hospitality Committee, with which Clubs, charitable organizations and private individuals are co-operating, has been most zealous in the entertainment of troops stationed in or passing through Madras.

In the collection of war funds in the Presidency you have concentrated on aeroplanes, and to a lesser degree on ambulances. I do not need to remind you that, the comfort and well-being of the men who are fighting for us are also objects deserving the utmost generosity.

I therefore commend to your attention, ladies and gentlemen, the need for mobile canteens and amenities for troops generally, but the supply of these should be co-ordinated through the Committee of the Central Amenities for Troops Fund.

The outstanding success of the Madras Governor's War Fund is, if I may say so, not only a tribute to the energy and the powers of persuasion of Your Excellency, and of many other gentlemen here this evening, but also an illustration of the value of planned and concentrated propaganda. When last year I congratulated your Propaganda Committee on the work which they had already done, I said that iteration and reiteration was the secret of success in that field. It is work of the greatest importance, and there is no limit to its usefulness. What you are already doing, with the help of the Madras Government through hundreds of reading circles and with your 12 propaganda vans, fitted with loudspeakers and cinema projectors, is most valuable; keep it up, and let there be more and more of it.

I said earlier in my speech that the war had come perceptibly nearer to India, and not from one direction only. The significance of this for Madras, particularly in regard to Air Raid Precautions, will not have escaped you. I was studying the other day, with a great deal of interest, the arrangements which have been made in this city and in the other towns of the Presidency where air-raid precautions are considered to be necessary. However complete the preparations by Government, or by the Corporation or the Defence Services may be, the success of air-raid precautions depends in a very large degree on the willing co-operation of every private citizen. For the safety of your city and of your neighbours, and of yourselves and your families, I cannot too strongly urge you—every man and woman—to give to the utmost the assistance which is required of you. I can hardly do better than repeat what, last year, the Minister of Home Security, Sir John Anderson, said to the people of Britain about this:—

‘In this war every man and woman is in the front line. A soldier at the front who neglects the proper protection of his trench does more than endanger his own life; he weakens a portion of his country's defences and betrays the trust which has been placed in him. You, too, will have betrayed your trust if you neglect to take the steps which it is your responsibility to take for the protection of yourself and your family.’

When I was last in Madras, your Civic Guards were a newly raised body. This year they are veterans with more than a year's training and experience behind them. Their importance, as a means of enabling the ordinary citizen to play his part in the defence of the State, and the maintenance of public safety and of public order, remains as great as ever. His Excellency the Governor has seen them at work in nearly every district and tells me how keen they are and what excellent work they are doing—and that is most reassuring news.”

35. CIVIC GUARDS WIN SPURS

Aug. 14, 1941 *Extract from Lord Linlithgow's address to Bombay Civic Guards on August 14, 1941 :*

“ To few civic bodies, raised for the purpose of defending law and order, can it have been given so soon and so creditably to win their spurs. I have read with admiration of the magnificent part which the Bombay Civic Guards—the motorised unit, and many others whom I see before me today,—as well as your colleagues in Ahmedabad—played in maintaining order and helping the police during the recent communal disturbances. That was a fine example to all other members of the Civic Guards throughout India.

There is no doubt that the best recruiting sergeant you can have is the reputation you have already earned so well ; and I can say with every assurance that the more there are of men like you, the better it will be for India. I am proud to have seen you on parade today, and greatly encouraged to feel that the steadiness, the smartness and the workmanlike bearing of the men I see before me is typical also of the other thousands of the Civic Guard in the districts of Bombay, whom I am not privileged to see today. Your movement is steadily gaining strength throughout the Province, and there is a growing realization of its value in the public mind. From the rapid progress you have already made, I can say without hesitation that the future of the Civic Guard here and elsewhere in India is full of promise.”

36. BOMBAY A.R.P.

Aug. 14, 1941 *Extracts from address to Bombay Air Raid Precaution volunteers on August 14, 1941 :*

“ Officers and men and women of the Bombay A.R.P. Services,— You are the citizen defenders of your homes and of your neighbours' homes, the protectors of innocent men, women and children from that most devastating form of modern warfare—bombing attacks from the air.

Do not for one moment relax your efforts ; do not give way to that most insidious of your enemies—more treacherous than any fifth-columnist—I mean, Boredom. Nine-tenths of the business of waging war is intensely boring. There are long periods of waiting and watching and preparing for something to happen, which may never happen at all, and then creeps in the fatal temptation of wondering whether one is doing any good by all this vigilance and preparation ; whether all this expenditure of time and energy and money is worth while. At all costs put that temptation behind you. The moment for which you are preparing may never come, it is true ; but no one can tell—it may come when you are least expecting it ; and if it comes when you are unprepared, then you are beaten before you have started to fight.

The war is a long way from being over yet. All the patience and skill, all the courage and endurance, of you and thousands more like

you, will be required for many months to come, to ensure that our defences are strong and our spirit unbreakable. Even when the war begins to turn in our favour, we shall have a long and rough passage before us—for we have got to make a good job of it this time. We are just getting our teeth into the Nazi now ; but he is a powerful animal, and desperate ; he can do a lot of damage yet, and he may still swing us off our feet once or twice, before we get to his throat and bring him down. But let us hold on, and assuredly we shall bring him down—this time for ever. When that day comes, you, officers, men and women of the Bombay A.R.P. services, will have your reward. You will know that you have played a very real part in the winning of the war : you will have manned your trench and kept your part of the line of battle intact. You will deserve well of your fellow citizens, and of India, and I hope, on that day, you will be the first to break your own black-out regulations, and light in the sky an enormous ' V ' for Victory, which will blaze half-way across the Indian Ocean."

37. "INDIA IS AWAKE"

Among us there are those who like to reap the harvest of victory without putting their hands to the plough, others who are not ashamed to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort and to destroy confidence though the nation stands in grave peril. "But that is not the spirit of India," says Lord Linlithgow broadcasting on September 3, 1941.

Sept. 3,
1941

"India is awake ; she is mighty and formidable ; and she shall, if you determine, be mightier yet."

Text of the broadcast :—

"My Friends,—This night, two years ago, I spoke to you in a solemn hour. I spoke, then, of my confidence that, at a time when all that is most precious in the civilisation of the modern world stands in peril, India would play a part worthy of her place among the nations of the world.

I was not wrong. War, like the bursting of a great dam, released the waters of destruction on the world. The noise of these waters was far off when India set herself to meet the storm ; to man her own defences as well as the outer bastions of her fortress. In two years, the tide of war has rolled much nearer to our shores—and not from one direction only. But India stands firm. Her young men have come forward to answer the call for service on the sea, on the land and in the air : her factories, her mills, her dockyards are working night and day to produce the munitions and equipment, the ships and vehicles of war : her Princes and people have poured out their wealth in free will offerings to meet the cost of war : her citizen defenders have enrolled themselves in tens of thousands to protect their homes and to secure the public peace : and the world will not forget how, after the darkest hour of the Allied cause, Indian soldiers went into battle on a December morning in the Western Desert, as the spearhead of a great attack, and won at Sidi Barrani our first resounding victory.

Today, India is the focus-point of the nations and territories of the Eastern Group. In Egypt, in the Sudan—whose people have shown their gratitude by a splendid gift—in Eritrea and Ethiopia; in Iraq, Syria and Iran, the armies of India have sought and found glory on many fields. They have dealt faithfully with the Italian Empire, which lies in ruins in East Africa; they have forged new links in the comradeship of arms and have protected great neighbouring nations against the imminent or actual threat of the invader.

India is awake; she is mighty and formidable; and she shall, if you so determine, be mightier yet.

Men and women of India, be proud of your sons and brothers. Not only of your soldiers, sailors and airmen, but of all those others too, who are playing their part, not always spectacular, but none the less valuable, in this total war. The merchant-seamen of India; the men in the factories and in the fields; the civil servants and the police; the Civic Guards and the A.R.P. services; the business men who cheerfully undertake, each of them, three or four men's work in the interests of national service; the women workers and many others who give of their best whether in money or service—these too are playing their part in this mortal struggle. They have not been privileged to stand in the front-line of battle; to their lot has fallen the less exciting but necessary work of war behind the lines; but on their patience and perseverance and on their stout-hearted confidence depends, no less than on our armed forces, the ultimate triumph of our efforts to rid the world of the obscene pestilence of Nazism.

There are those amongst us who would like to reap the harvest of victory without having put their hands to the plough. Others there are who for one reason or another are not ashamed, though the nation stands in grave peril, to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort, to destroy confidence. But that is not the spirit of India.

Do not, I beg of you, let this insidious fifth-column eat, like dry rot, into the fabric of your determination. Be united, stand firm and persevere. It was in the spirit of co-operation that our soldiers scaled the heights of Keren and Amba Alagi, and stormed Damascus; it was in that spirit that they broke through the iron ring at El Mechili, and are continuing the heroic resistance at Tobruk. When the tremendous conflict which we are witnessing passes into history, it will be deeds such as these that will be inscribed, for India's honour, in golden letters on the banners of victory.

I have asked that next Sunday shall be observed as a Day of National Prayer. The virtue of prayer lies in thanksgiving, faith and resolution. We have much to be thankful for. Great Britain, the British Empire and our Allies have taken some hard knocks, but we have given them too; and we stand on infinitely firmer ground today than we did twelve months ago. But the war is by no means over; we may not yet have travelled even one-half of the long and rough road. We may be sure that there are before us many months of agony and

sweat and sacrifice, and it will take all our courage and resolution, all our faith and patience, to win through, with God's help, to the end. We must try to deserve the strength, which, next Sunday, we shall ask God to give us. If you think you are giving all you can, give twice as much; if you think you are working as hard as you can, work twice as hard. I speak to you as comrades in this high endeavour, as fellow travellers along the hard and testing road of duty and of honour. Please believe me that your personal effort, your contribution, your support, are greatly needed and are truly appreciated.

Some of you will remember an allegory, in a book that was written close on 300 years ago, of a pilgrim who was beset upon his journey by the foul fiend Apollyon, who said, 'Prepare thyself to die; for I swear by my infernal den that thou shalt go no farther; here will I spill thy soul'; and how the pilgrim fought back manfully for many hours, and, at the last, though wounded and weary, he saw an opportunity and gathered his strength and his courage to strike at the fiend the deadliest blow of all that fight: at which Apollyon 'spread forth his dragon's wings, and sped him away.'

We must make an even better job of our Apollyon: he must not get away. The Nazi and all his works must perish utterly from the earth. Be resolute, keep your eyes on the goal and keep your hearts high, and so, for the generations that are to come, Hitler shall mean no more than a name to frighten children with, a shadow of dragon's wings across the sun.

Goodnight. God bless you all."

38. NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL

Before the opening of the secret session of the first meeting of the National Defence Council on October 6, 1941, Lord Linlithgow welcomed the representatives of the Provinces and the Princes met together for the first time to consider and discuss the war position and India's war effort and to be acquainted "to the fullest degree, and in the fullest confidence," with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort. The establishment of the Council had been announced on July 21 by His Excellency the Viceroy along with the announcement of the enlargement of his Executive Council. The National Defence Council received a message of greetings from the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill. Extracts from Lord Linlithgow's speech:

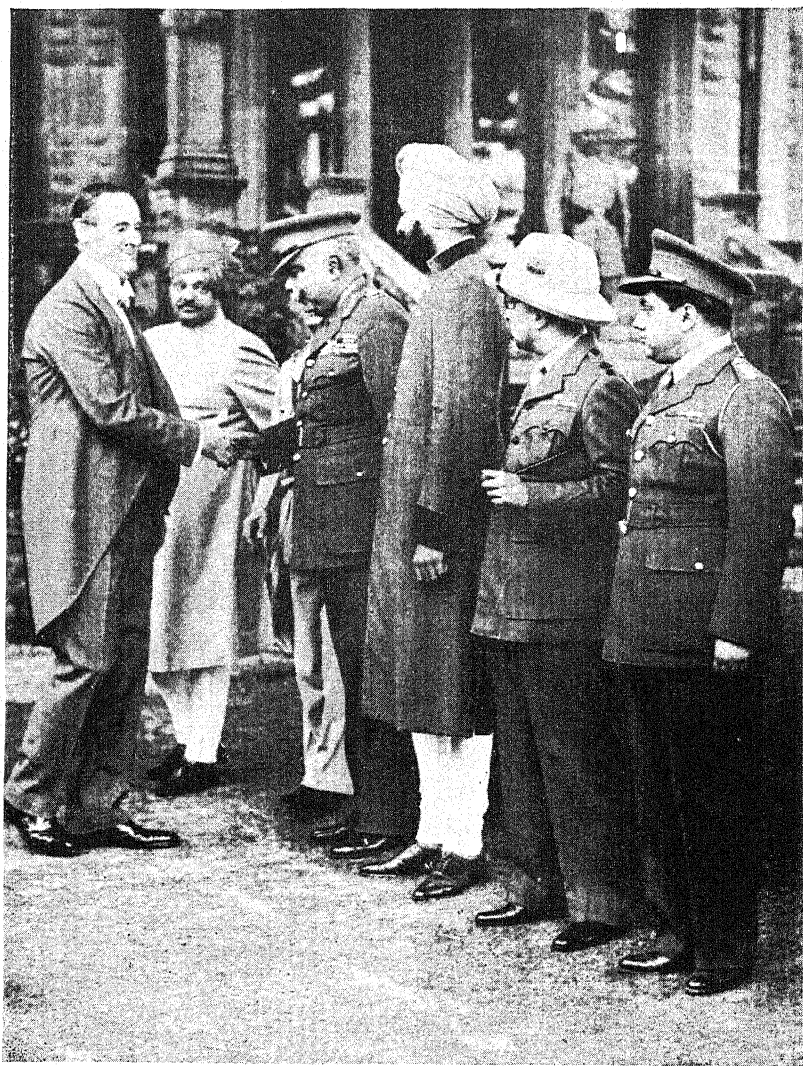
Oct. 6,
1941

"Your Highnesses, Begum Shah Nawaz and Gentlemen,—This is a business gathering, and I am not going to make a long speech to you today. But I would like in the first place to extend to you the warmest possible welcome to this the first meeting of the National Defence Council, and to say how deeply I appreciate your public spirit in attending, in many cases, I know, at very great personal inconvenience. I would like, too, to say a word about the significance of this occasion, before we go into our secret session, and to touch very briefly on recent developments in the great part which India is playing in this war.

This occasion is one of great significance. For the first time the representatives of the Indian States and British India are met together to consider and discuss the war position and India's war effort ; to receive from myself and from my advisers information on important aspects of these matters ; to give my advisers and myself the benefit, the value of which I cannot over-estimate, of your own suggestions and advice. It is my hope and belief that this meeting will be the first of many, and that the contribution which these meetings will make to the removal of misunderstandings, to the furtherance of our common cause, to the stimulating still further of efforts already so generously and widely made throughout India, will be great indeed.

In the National Defence Council, composed as it is of representatives of the Princely Order and of the Provinces of British India, there has been established a body truly representative of all elements in the national life of India, whose sole object is the intensification of the war effort and the prosecution of the war. My object and that of my Government will be, during our secret deliberations, to acquaint the National Defence Council to the fullest degree, and in the fullest confidence, with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort ; to obtain the benefit of their advice ; to improve and develop liaison ; and so to secure that, in a war that is as much India's war as the war of Great Britain or of any other part of the Empire, the Princely Order, and the Provinces of British India, are seized, through their representatives on the Defence Council, of the problems that confront us from time to time in the conduct of the war, of the greatness of India's contribution, and of the background to, and the justification for, the magnificent effort which India is putting forth. . . .

As the war goes on, every day reveals more clearly the place which India has won for herself in the world. She is today the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements. The Commander-in-Chief, whom we are glad to welcome back today from his consultations with the Cabinet, with His Majesty's Representatives, civil and military, in the Middle East, and with our Russian Allies at Teheran, bears a responsibility which few, if any, of his predecessors in that great office can have held ; and in the discharge of that responsibility from India he links India still more closely with those mighty movements that are taking place around us. India, as I have said, is the centre of the great Supply organisation which serves the vital military needs of countries ranging from Australia to South Africa. Her contribution in fighting men has been on the grandest scale, and will be greater yet. She is ready, as we know, to make sacrifices greater still in every way than those which she has so far been called upon to make. We may be proud of the achievement of India. We may be certain that that achievement will not fade from the memory of the nations."



First meeting of the National Defence Council : From LEFT to RIGHT : The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes ; the late Maharaja of Bikaner (shaking hands with the Viceroy); the Maharaja of Patiala ; the Nawab of Rampur ; and the Maharaja of Gwalior.

39. INDIA'S STEEL WORKS

"You have reason to be proud of your membership of the largest steel producing unit of the British Empire, and proud of the work you are doing," remarked Lord Linlithgow in a speech to the employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Company's works at Jamshedpur on December 12, 1941 :—

**Dec. 12,
1941**

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for the welcome which you have given me, and for this opportunity of seeing the great work which is being done in Jamshedpur. Iron and Steel are the passwords of today : they will open the gates to India's future industrial prosperity, and they will win us the victory which must be won, if safety and prosperity are ever to be tasted. I have been intensely interested by what I have seen during this short visit. You have reason to be proud of your membership of the largest steel-producing unit of the British Empire, and proud of the work you are doing. I have been greatly encouraged to see that work, and to see that it is good. I have seen it through the eyes not only of your Viceroy, but of one who knows from personal experience what is the point of view of the soldier in the front line. In the last war, as in the present one, the aggressors started with a big material advantage in munitions and equipment. It is a disheartening experience for the soldier when his guns can only reply with one shell against every hundred fired by the enemy's guns ; or when he has to face a hundred enemy tanks with ten. But, if the soldier knows, as we knew in the last war, that there is a tremendous effort going forward in the munitions factories at home to give him as quickly as possible the weapons he needs, he can and will hold on until those weapons are in his hands. It is up to you to see that the tools which you send the soldier are good, that he gets them quickly, and in such numbers as not merely to restore the balance, but to give him an overwhelming superiority, so that he can finish the job once and for all.

In the Great War of 1914-18 this country sent overseas hundreds of thousands of tons of steel, which were used in our campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa. In this war already about a million tons of your finished and semi-finished steel products—rails, structural sections, plates, sheets and bars—have been supplied for war requirements, and large quantities of your pig-iron have found their way even to Great Britain.

The stress of modern warfare calls for special qualities in steel, and it is in the production of special steel that this Company has shown imagination, foresight and energy of the highest order. Your Control and Research Laboratories are the finest of their kind in the Empire, and, as a result of their work, there is flowing from Jamshedpur—from this Steel Works and from the other closely associated factories in this area—in a steady and ever-increasing stream, a great variety of special alloy steels, high speed steels for machine tools, bullet-proof armour plate and many other essentials for the armies and factories of today—from steel helmets to stainless steel for surgical instruments ; and from tin-plate and barbed wire

to that special cable which is the answer to Hitler's secret weapon, the magnetic mine.

You have kept in the forefront of new developments and processes. As evidence of this I have seen today the armour plating of splendid quality, which is rolled and treated in your Works, being made into the bodies of fighting vehicles in the East Indian Railway Workshops. I shall be keenly interested to learn of the results of the bold and courageous experiments on which you are also engaged, whereby, for the first time, acid steel will be made direct from Indian raw materials. The new plant for this purpose will add to the growing number of your products, which, before the war, had to be imported from abroad. You are leading the way in showing that India can and should rely more and more on her own treasure-house of material resources and the skill of her own workmen to make her strong and prosperous.

Yours is the task to forge the shield as well as the spear-head of our armies in their mortal struggle. But you are not content with that. After your long day's work, you look to the defence of your own homes and workshops. The importance of air-raid precautions in a place like this needs no emphasis from me. My own eyes can testify to the energy and enthusiasm which you have brought to this voluntary work and the progress which you have achieved in the organisation, recruitment and training of A.R.P. workers and Civic Guards. I warmly congratulate you all—staff and management alike. It has been a fine effort, and an example and inspiration to many other parts of India.

Very generous gifts in money too for war purposes have come from Jamshedpur-Golmuri. Three fighter planes of the Royal Air Force carry the name of your district, and you have given 14 armoured "carriers" to the Indian Army. Your investments in War Funds have exceeded half a crore of rupees, and your Publicity Committee has been doing most valuable work.

All of you, I can see, are determined to fight this fight out to the limit of your powers; and all of you are determined which side will win. We shall win this war—but there is a stern task before us yet. How soon we shall win it depends on the skill and the perseverance of you, and of men and women like you. Never be content with your effort; never let it flag; then victory will soon be ours, and Jamshedpur will be free to turn to the great part she is bound to play in the reconstruction of a peace-time world.

You workers in Iron and Steel hold the industrial future and the present safety of India in your hands. That is a great trust and a great responsibility, but the skill, the industry and the readiness of every man and woman among you will, I know, prove equal to it.

The soldier who looks to you for your powerful co-operation will not ask in vain. He stands in the front line of battle, but you are standing at his shoulder, and it is the strength you give which will drive his swordarm forward, carrying destruction to the Nazi and to all our enemies."

40. THE YEAR 1941

A seventh year in the office of the Viceroy, even in the most peaceful times, would be a heavy burden to carry—but a seventh year, when so much had been crowded into one Viceroyalty, was no light matter, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 15, 1941.

**Dec. 15,
1941**

The significance of the enlargement of the Governor-General's Executive Council in July that year was, he thought, greater than was sometimes appreciated; its immediate importance was great; on the long-term view it was likely to prove to be even greater. Great Departments of the State had been transferred to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation with "joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council." The European and the official majorities of the Council had disappeared. The second limb of the new arrangement was the National Defence Council.

But Lord Linlithgow deeply regretted that the provincial position remained unchanged and there still remained unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future government of India. "We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together," he said. Extracts:—

"Your Excellency, Mr. President, Gentlemen—I thank you most warmly for the welcome you have given me here today, and I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to meet you again, or how greatly I esteem the privilege that you have extended to me of addressing you. This is the sixth occasion on which I have had that privilege. You know how much importance I attach to the opportunity it gives me of speaking at large on matters of great moment not only to the commercial community, which you, gentlemen, represent, but to an audience wider far.

Before I proceed with my remarks I hope you will allow me to say how glad I was to hear the tribute which you, Sir, have paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert. Few people can know better than I do the zeal and the enthusiasm which he has displayed in his most heavy and responsible charge, and the pains at which he has been not only to acquaint himself with the problems of that charge on paper, but to make close contact with every corner of the Presidency, and, through his own example, and his own keen interest, to encourage every endeavour that has been made in support of the war effort of Bengal.

In your speech today, Sir, you touched on a number of points of great importance, and I will do my best in what I have to say to comment on them. I should like also, with your permission, to say a brief word towards the end of my speech on the Indian political situation, and on the developments that have taken place in it during the last twelve months. But today, wherever we may be, the matter of first importance, the matter of vital importance, the one thing that dominates our thoughts, the one thing that demands every ounce of energy that we can spend, is the successful prosecution of the war and its successful outcome. And it is therefore of the

war, and of its fortunes over the last twelve months, and of India's contribution to it, and the help that India has given and is giving, that I would like in the first place to speak.

Today the minds of all of us are full of the wanton and unprovoked aggression of the Japanese against the British Empire and against the United States of America. Like master like man, says the old proverb. The Japanese have if possible improved on the example set them by the Nazis of deceit, of cold-blooded disregard of the most solemn obligations and, I trust also, on a long view, of short-sightedness. There is little I need say to you today in a case so clear, at a juncture so critical. A more infamous betrayal of those principles which Japan has in the past claimed to venerate and to uphold would be difficult to parallel. The warning is clear to all of us, as it is clear to the small nations. This new and heavy addition to our responsibilities is one that we must bend every nerve to deal with and to master. And in handling that task we shall have with us, I am certain, as fully as in the earlier phases of the war, the goodwill, the heartfelt sympathy, and the support of India as a whole.

When I addressed you last year the Empire was but recovering from the blow inflicted on it by the defeat of our French allies, and the collapse of France. We were through the worst. We had stood up to the heaviest battering that any nation could have had to face. We had survived with success many months of acute peril and immense strain; and we were in a position to look forward with confidence to 1941.

1941 has not belied the hopes that we entertained a year ago. It does not see the end of the war. There are before us many critical months, months in which we shall pass through grave anxiety, in which we shall suffer heavy losses, in which we shall have to bear the strain of critical situations, before the desired outcome is achieved. But we are a year further on the way. The year which has just passed has been marked by many events of the utmost significance. The enemy's endeavours to strangle us by sea have failed. The Battle of the Atlantic still goes on, and will go on. But the threat it constitutes, and the burden it represents, are less great by far than those a year ago.

By land, we have liquidated the Italian Empire in Africa. In that great task, with which the name of our present Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency General Sir Archibald Wavell, will for ever imperishably be associated, the part played by India and Indian troops was of the first significance and of the highest value. I have the Commander-in-Chief's personal authority for the outstanding quality of their effort and of the contribution that they have made. India's troops, fighting at Gondar a few days ago, fighting in North Africa as I speak to you, are maintaining the highest traditions set by the Indian Army in the past, and by their comrades in the earlier phases of this war. In Iraq, in Persia, in both of which countries Axis endeavours to turn to their advantage, by Fifth Column methods

and insidious propaganda, the weakness of individuals have been foiled, Indian troops have played their part. There is I think some risk that recent events in the Far East may divert attention from the great and glorious victory which General Auchinleck and the troops under his command, splendidly supported by the Royal Navy and the Air Forces of the Empire, have won, against very important German and Italian forces, in North Africa. In the long and gruelling battle between forces very evenly matched, Indian troops are playing a highly distinguished part. The strategic importance of this battle will, I am convinced, prove to be very great; and it is most heartening to notice that, upon the first occasion that we have met the Germans on terms of equality in numbers and armament, our men have proved their superiority.

From the United States of America, to which our sympathy goes out with such sincerity and depth in the shocking aggression of which they have been the victims, the Empire has had, and continues to have, help of inestimable value. Let me say in that connection how great a happiness it has been to me to see during my own term of office, and at a juncture so critical as the present, the bonds between the United States of America and India more closely knit by the appointment as United States Commissioner to India of Mr. Thomas Murray Wilson, so well known to many of us here; and by the appointment of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai as Agent-General of India in America.

When last I addressed you, few of us anticipated that a still more blatant exhibition of cynicism was to be given by a breach of relations between Germany and Russia, and by the wholly unprovoked, and wholly unjustified, onslaught made without a moment's notice, or a word of warning, by the Nazis on a nation to which they were bound by every form of engagement. Russia has had to meet and to carry the shock of a devastating and an unprovoked attack. But her response has been magnificent; and I know, gentlemen, that I speak for you all today when I say that the deep and sincere good wishes of everyone of us go out to Russia and to her people in the battle they are waging; and that there is no one of us who does not feel admiration, real and profound, for the supreme example which she and her people have given to the world of courage, resolution, and tenacity.

We have been at war for two years and a quarter. We have suffered heavy losses, grave setbacks. But we have much to show in the result: and it is my sincere belief that, with the lessons of the past behind us, we can face the very testing times that lie ahead with confidence, and well-founded confidence, that we shall face them with no less resolution and no less courage, whatever may lie in store for us, than the Empire, and than India, have shown since the day that the war began.

India's contribution to the war and to its successful outcome was great indeed even a year ago. In the twelve months that have passed since we met its growth has been immense. His Majesty's

Government have shown themselves most anxious to take advantage of the men, the munitions, the supplies of various kinds which India is so well qualified to give, and which India has always been so anxious to give. The number of our fighting men who are defending India overseas is three times what it was a year ago, and ten times what it was two years ago. The organization of our supply system has been, I will not say perfected, for there is always room for improvement in any system, but it has been brought to a pitch of performance which commands admiration, and the results of which are striking in the highest degree. Let me pay due acknowledgment to the part which your help and your constructive criticism have played in that achievement.

In every form of warlike display we are playing our part, indeed more than our part. In every form of financial contribution—for weapons, for equipment, for amenities for the fighting forces, for the relief of distress arising from the war, India, the States and British India alike, remains most generous and open-hearted. And the spirit of this country, since it first recognized what was involved in the struggle in which we are engaged, has remained, and remains, calm, firm, convinced of the necessity of victory, ready to do and to give all in its power to bring about victory. But there is always *more* for us to do. There are always ways in which as a country and as individuals we can make a still greater contribution. I am ready to ask for the impossible, and I know that if I do I shall get a ready response, not only from you, gentlemen, and the great commercial community which you represent, but from all classes and from every part of India.

I would like in the first place to say a word about supply. You can imagine how deep a satisfaction it has been to me to hear, Sir, the encouraging and the friendly words which you were good enough to use today of the work of my Supply Department.

I can bear personal witness to the intensity of the efforts made by the officers of that department since the beginning of the war, and to the anxiety both of Sir Zafrulla Khan and of his distinguished successor, Sir Homi Mody, to see that the very best results possible are achieved, whatever the difficulties that may confront us. The progress made has been due in part to plans laid well over a year ago by those who founded the Department and who saw it through its early troubles. But the two great factors in our progress have been the establishment of the forward programme and the creation of the Eastern Group Supply Council.

The forward programme has made it possible to enter into contracts for six months at a time, and to get industry into continuous production. The Eastern Group Supply Council has, beyond any question, most markedly stimulated the war effort on the supply side in India, and in the Dominions and other countries represented in the Eastern Group. The Eastern Group Conference gave the representatives of the various Governments concerned a clear idea of the industrial potential of their neighbours ; and I would like to

take the opportunity to add that India has had a very full share of the orders that have so far been placed through the Council. The opening of a great new theatre of war in the Far East will provide a sharp test of the elasticity and soundness of our provision and supply organizations. I have every confidence that these will emerge with credit.

I think that you will wish me to give you, as briefly as I can, a few outstanding facts which speak for themselves. The production of steel is being rapidly stepped up by the efforts, to which I should like to pay a warm tribute, of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, and the Steel Corporation of Bengal. Before the middle of 1942 production should touch a rate of 1.25 million tons per annum; and that is not a final figure, for a substantial increase upon it may be looked for. I would like to say a word of praise and of thanks in this connexion for the efforts of the Tata Iron and Steel Company (whose works I have just had the pleasure of visiting again), in producing special steels, notably armour plate and bullet-proof welding electrodes.

All the Ministry of Supply Mission projects approved by His Majesty's Government are now well launched and work upon them is proceeding as fast as possible.

Civil armaments production, which encountered initial difficulties of some substance, is now shaping well, and the production of empty shell is satisfactory. There are difficulties still to be overcome in the production of certain munitions components. But the work done during the last twelve months has not been wasted, and I am satisfied that we may reasonably take an encouraging view of prospects.

India's shipyards are employed to capacity in the construction of minesweeping trawlers and other small naval craft, as well as in repairs to ships of the line and merchant vessels.

Progress has been made, I am glad to say, in stimulating and developing the Indian machine tool industry, and simple machine tools are now being manufactured in India in fairly large quantities. Engineering stores are being manufactured in very large quantities indeed, and, though there are still hold-ups owing to the uneven flow of material, the fabricating workshops are fully occupied. The demand for woollen textiles still absorbs India's capacity to the full. Cotton textile demands are increasing very rapidly, and the great cotton textile industry, whose capacity we would all of us at one time have thought to be almost inexhaustible, is now beginning to feel the strain of the demands placed upon it both for direct war purposes and for various purposes arising out of the war conditions. The Indian silk industry will shortly assist in the war effort by providing the material required for the extensive manufacture of man-carrying statichutes in India. Demands for timber have risen to an unprecedented level. The Government clothing factories are now turning out over 8 million garments a month. Leather manufacturers are being organized on the same lines as clothing, and the value of the monthly output already exceeds Rs. 1.25 crores.

The output of motor vehicles assembled in India has been much increased, and so far as armoured vehicles are concerned, India will be able to produce all the armour plate required for a considerable programme. India will shortly be producing her own refined sulphur, and valuable progress has been made in the production of vital chemicals, such as bichromates, and of medical stores, including both drugs and equipment.

1941 saw something like a fourfold increase over the greater part of the Supply field, and the demands of 1942 may be literally gigantic. You will be with me in feeling that the main consideration at present is that India should prepare herself for the immense burden likely to fall upon her in 1942 and subsequent years. As I speak to you today, we can claim already to have achieved great results. For those results I am profoundly grateful, not only to my Supply Department but to the willing co-operation of industry, which has been so generously given, and which is of such vital and essential importance. I would ask that that co-operation should continue to be given with the same fulness as in the past, and if it is—and I need not say how entirely confident I am that it will be, even when under the stress of war difficulties may sometimes seem unsurmountable—we need none of us have any doubt or fear lest India should fail to play her part to the full in this vital area of war effort.

You referred, Sir, to the growing demands on industry and commerce on account of the war production programme, and to the shortage of skilled labour which is making itself felt. In that connexion you sounded a note of caution that production not required for the direct prosecution of the war should not be closed down; and you reminded us that while the paramount need for commerce and industry is to man, equip, and maintain the most effective possible fighting force, they must not be entirely unmindful of their own preservation. I can at once assure you that it is not part of the policy of my Government to close down industrial production merely because it is not required for the direct prosecution of the war. But, inevitably, war work is in an increasing degree causing demands on material and labour at the expense of the normal operations of certain industries.

As regards skilled labour my Government has done, and will continue to do, its utmost to train such labour in increasing numbers, to give special facilities for such training and to ensure that available skilled labour is used to the best advantage. The labour position, save in regard to certain specially technical labour connected with engineering, is, happily, easier in certain regards in India than in other countries. Though there has developed a shortage of highly skilled and skilled labour, it is doubtful whether there is yet a shortage of semi-skilled, and there is no lack of unskilled.

There is, however, a shortage, and a shortage keenly felt, of supervisory and administrative staff. This is true in particular of European managerial and supervisory staff owing to the scheme of compulsory military service which has been introduced, and to

the eager response that there has been to the call for men. I agree entirely that every action possible to foresee difficulties, and, consistently with the winning of the war, to provide for them, and to watch the preservation, in your own words, of Industry and Commerce, must be taken. I feel certain that the National Service Tribunals with their large majority of non-official business men, will be concerned to bear in mind the legitimate claims of industry and commerce, and to see that the depletion of this staff is not carried too far.

Sir, you touched on the very remarkable growth of wartime industries in India and on the question of their post-war future, and you urged the need for all the help required if many of those industries are to survive economically in post-war conditions. That important question has been constantly before me and before my Advisers; and in the Budget Session of 1940 the Government of India formally stated that they were prepared, in the case of specific industries started in war conditions, to give assurances that such industries, after peace was restored, would be given some form of protection against competition from abroad. That assurance was inevitably confined to specific industries, since in each case the scope of the industry, its needs, and the part that it will play in the general economy of the country, have to be considered. There are cases where an industry does not satisfy the conditions referred to as regards its position in peace conditions, and where its establishment is essential for war purposes. In those cases the Department of Supply makes the practice of encouraging production by a variety of *ad hoc* methods, certain of which will protect the industrialist from loss. In some cases the State has itself found the necessary capital under appropriate conditions.

Apart from this, the question of post-war economy, with special reference to industrial development, is engaging the close and constant attention of my Government.

Some time back it was announced that Post-War Reconstruction Committees would be constituted to examine various aspects of post-war economy, and to deal with problems likely to arise in post-war conditions. These Reconstruction Committees are in the course of being constituted, and they will include a strong non-official element. One of them, the Consultative Committee of Economists, has already started work. I sincerely trust that these Committees and their deliberations will contribute materially to the solution of some of the problems to which you have referred.

In the circumstances of today the problem of civil defence assumes an importance greater than ever. I am glad to think that the whole of this very vital issue is now being handled, in consultation with the provinces, by a single Civil Defence Department at the headquarters of my Government, and that, in dealing with it, I have the assistance, in Mr. Raghavendra Rao, of an adviser who has himself had much practical experience at home and who has had the advantage also of a very close contact with the Ministry of Home Security.

You have rightly stressed the important part which transportation plays in modern warfare—and, I would add, in our whole economic life—and the importance of securing the best use of the available facilities. These unfortunately have never been fully adequate for the needs of the country, and the war is bound to involve an increasing strain on them.

My Government has been encouraging the establishment of Boards at the leading cities to co-ordinate transport over large areas and I recognize that as the war goes on, it may be necessary to impose further control than is operative at present. But compulsion always involves a certain sacrifice of elasticity and we are anxious to leave as much liberty to private enterprise as is compatible with the fullest war effort.

I listened with close attention to the observations which you, Sir, made in your speech on the problem of inflation. I welcome the prominence you gave to this subject and while you will not, I know, take me as endorsing all that you say in this regard, I would congratulate you on a lucid analysis of one of the most baffling of present-day problems. I personally am satisfied, on the best advice available to me, that there is as yet no undue cause for alarm, and that the situation has so far proved reasonably amenable to control.

But the bitter experience of so many countries of post-war Europe shows the havoc, the distress, the social injustice, which uncontrolled inflation is capable of causing ; and all who have at heart the interests of India and its people must do their utmost to prevent the vicious spiral from taking hold of this country. My Government have been, and are, giving the matter their constant and most anxious consideration. But the ramifications of the problem are complex, possible counter-measures are beset with administrative difficulties, and in our efforts to deal with it we need and will, I assure you most gratefully welcome, all the advice and all the active assistance which we can get from the commercial and the non-official world.

The encouragement and stimulus of increased production where feasible is the most obvious, the most effective, and the most generally acceptable course of action. But unfortunately its scope is in present circumstances strictly limited, and other and more drastic action may often become necessary. You have referred to price fixation as one of the possible methods of attacking the problem, and you have emphasised its limitations. I need hardly say that my advisers are fully conscious of the fact that mere price fixing by itself can seldom provide a complete cure, while any attempt to check the rise of prices, whether of primary products or of manufactured articles, not infrequently arouses hostility and opposition on the part of the interests immediately affected. And rationing of articles of common consumption, which is the almost inevitable corollary to control of prices, presents in a vast country like India greater practical difficulties than in countries smaller and more highly organized. But I can at once assure you that my Government are quite prepared to resort to methods of direct price control where they are satisfied

that such action can with advantage be taken, and they will not hesitate, where need be, to follow up this preliminary measure with such control over supply as may prove to be necessary and practicable.

You spoke of the danger of inflation which may result from rising wages, and the increased purchasing power thereby created in the hands of a vast number of employees. You distinguished between the case in which higher wages are passed on to the consumer in the form of a higher price for the product, and the case in which the increased wage bill is met entirely out of the higher profits accruing to the employed. But you suggested that even in the latter case there must still be a considerable inflationary effect, a proposition which I am not disposed to dispute. It is, I think, generally recognized that a higher standard of living, based upon a war-boom, has inherent elements of instability, and that there is a limit to the extent to which rising wages and earnings result in a real improvement, owing to the development of shortages in the supply of consumable goods. This applies not only to luxuries, but also to certain necessities, such for example as textiles. But it is, I think, possible to exaggerate the direct influence on the situation of the demands of labour, and it is important to realize that there are other, and perhaps more fundamental, factors at work as well. Wartime taxation undoubtedly contributes to the avoidance of the dangers of profit-inflation, but this remedy can at best be only partial. It needs to be supplemented by the avenues for saving and investment provided by the Government of India's Defence Loans. And, if workers are to obtain the full benefit of their higher money wages, they should save as much as possible, and by doing so at once safeguard their own future position and help to prevent rises in the prices of consumers' goods which can be of no advantage to them.

I regard it as a matter of first importance to India's wartime economy. With rupee expenditure on military and war supply activities standing, as it now does, in the region of 20 crores a month ; with imports both from belligerent and from neutral countries subject to severe restrictions ; there is a clear and imperative need for withdrawing as far as possible the surplus purchasing capacity so as to prevent the inflationary rise in prices which, as you rightly point out, everybody dreads. It is here that my Government rely on, and, I am confident will receive the utmost assistance and co-operation from the non-official world.

In all Provincial Defence Loan Committees there is a large non-official element, while those in Bengal, Bombay and Madras are, I believe, entirely non-official. I am deeply grateful to them for their admirable work.

Such special efforts are of the greatest value, and I cannot too warmly commend their example. But the situation demands persistent and unremitting effort. Of the 20 crores a month which I have just mentioned a substantial portion must pass directly into the hands of the urban industrial workers, and through them to a vast number of other humble folk who live entirely outside the realm

of income-tax, excess profits tax, and defence bonds. I would urge that all possible encouragement and assistance be given to them to conserve their savings by investment in Defence Savings Certificates, the Post Office Defence Savings Bank, or the Savings Stamp and Savings Card; and I am sure that I can rely on you and on all employers of labour, by your personal influence to help in a matter, the importance of which in times such as these I cannot easily exaggerate.

When we last met, I spoke to you of the proposals in the constitutional field, which, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, I made on August 8, 1940. I was at pains to analyse those proposals in detail. I tried to bring out their far-reaching character; their great potentialities; their real significance both immediate and for the future. I repeated that they reaffirmed, as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown, and of the British Parliament, the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. I emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing the future constitutional scheme; the far-reaching significance of their decision that responsibility for the framing of that future constitutional scheme should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connexion with India has imposed upon her, be primarily for Indians themselves. I referred to the readiness of His Majesty's Government to see set up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life, to devise the framework of that scheme. I repeated that, pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government were only too anxious to welcome and promote any sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body, and about the principles and basis of the constitution. I spoke of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see that there was a sufficient degree of general agreement in this country behind any constitutional changes which is so essential if there is to be harmonious working. I made an appeal to all parties to sink their differences in times such as these, when the fate of everything that we all of us hold most dear is in the balance, and to co-operate in the defence of those common ideals.

My appeal did not secure the response for which I had hoped. I determined, however, to wait, in the hope that the passing of time would make a difference, for I wanted to give every possible chance to the major parties to come together on the basis of these proposals. I hoped, too, that the increasing pressure of the war, and its swift approach to India, would influence the decision. I was anxious, finally, as I always have been, to secure, for the expansion of my Government and for the other arrangements which I had in view for associating opinion in India more closely with the conduct of the war, the support of the great political parties.

I was disappointed in those hopes. But, though I was prevented from going ahead on the lines which I proposed in August of 1940, I would repeat that the guarantees, the undertakings, the pledges, the intentions, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government, as explained in my statement, towards future constitutional development and the machinery by which it is to be brought about, are as valid today as when they were first spoken. But, given the increasing pressure of the war, I could not, in justice to India itself, longer postpone, because of the absence of support from the great political parties, the creation of additional departments in my Council, the reorganization of the work of that body, and the taking of steps for the association of non-official opinion with what was going on.

It was in those circumstances that, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, the reorganization announced in last July took place. That reorganization did not have any basis other than administrative convenience. But in making it, though I could not look for help from the political parties, I was anxious that I should get the best men I could, the most representative men, men of real standing and importance in this country. In that I can claim to have succeeded. Though the reasons for the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council in the form which it finally took were those that I have explained, the process of expansion, the fact that as part of it there disappeared the European and the official majorities that had been the characteristics of that body for so many years, the transfer to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation in this country of great departments of State, with joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council, was a step the significance of which is far greater than I sometimes think is realized. Its immediate importance is great. On the long-term view it is likely to prove to be even greater.

Let me add that during the few months that my expanded Council and I have been working together, I have, if I may say so, been most deeply impressed by its approach to the problems which come before it, by its wide grasp of the diverse issues that at all times fall to be considered, by its strong sense of corporate unity, by the independence of view of its members, and by the happiness of the atmosphere that has throughout characterised our confidential discussions. And we have had many major issues to consider during the time that we have been together. The Council in its present form is a body of great authority and great distinction. It represents wide experience, political and administrative. On it are members of different communities, from different parts of India, Service and non-Service, European and Indian. I would like to express to this important audience my own judgment of its entire competence in the administrative field, and my own appreciation of the value of the assistance which it has been able to give me on wider political issues. It is a strong, effective, and distinguished body; and India may be well content that in the direction of affairs she is so well served today.

The second limb of the new arrangements which were announced in July was the establishment of the National Defence Council, and I

would like to pay a tribute to the patriotism and public spirit of those gentlemen who have accepted my invitation to join that body. As you know my intention was (and is) that Prime Ministers of Provinces shall be *ex-officio* members.

In these last few days we have welcomed to it the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, who on the happy occasion of the restoration of normal parliamentary government in Orissa, which we all of us so much welcome, has become the Prime Minister of that Province, while with the formation of a new Ministry in Bengal, the Chief Minister of Bengal becomes a member of the Council.

The establishment of the Council is a most important landmark. I think that those of you present here today who are members of it will support me when I say that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his military, naval and air advisers have been at pains to give the utmost information in their power, information, too, of a most secret character to the Defence Council; and that it has been my anxiety in other fields equally to put its members in the fullest possession possible of what we are doing, of our difficulties, and of the directions in which we would welcome their help. The value of its discussions has been very great, and that not only because of the many constructive and helpful suggestions made by the Council. Those discussions have enabled us to make the Rulers of the Indian States, and the representatives of non-official opinion throughout the provinces of British India, fully aware of the facts of the situation; and they have brought about a liaison between myself, my Government, the Indian States, and the provinces of British India the value of which I cannot overstate.

But, while the two steps which I have just mentioned are of great significance and of great hope for the future, our main problem still remains unsolved.

While in five provinces the constitution is functioning normally with the assistance of the legislature, in six others its normal operation remains suspended. There could be no better advertisement of the practicability and the advantage of normal parliamentary government than the success with which it has been worked in great provinces such as Bengal and the Punjab, and in areas presenting problems so different as do Bengal and the Punjab, Assam and Sind. And it remains to me a bitter disappointment that those in other provinces who had asked for and had accepted the burden of government should have thrown it down so lightheartedly, at a moment of such crisis in the fortunes of the world and of India, and with so little consideration of what was involved. That that decision has provoked many regrets I am well aware. I can but hope that we may yet see the day when, in the provinces which are still without a ministerial government, we shall see in power governments set on the winning of the war and ready to use the immense power and opportunities at their disposal.

And if the provincial position is as I have described it, there still remains unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future Government of India. That that problem remains unsolved is due to

no lack of goodwill, no lack of earnest effort on the part of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself. We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together, to try to provide the materials for an amicable agreement between them, to try to smooth India's path to the realisation of her goal. At the critical point which matters have now reached in the international situation I would ask again whether it is not possible for the divisions that unhappily exist to be bridged, and for India, which has made, and is making, so immense a contribution to the war, which stands for so much in the history of the world, to go forward as one in support of ideals in which we know that she believes, and for which there is such overwhelming and general support throughout the country. And it is my earnest prayer that the common detestation of the wickedness against which we are fighting today may reflect itself in that agreement in the internal political field which it has always been our hope and desire to see achieved.

Let it not be forgotten that when this war broke out India, in provincial autonomy, had begun to move, had indeed made a most important step along the road, to that equality of status with the Dominions which it has been our object to achieve. That the more complete fulfilment of that process by the establishment of Federation should not have been realised by the date of the outbreak of the war has always been a profound grief to me.

Had we been able, before the outbreak of the war, to have brought Federation into being, so many of the problems that confront us now would have been solved. No better constitutional basis could have been found on which to develop the efforts of British India and the Indian States in a partnership which would, I believe, have been as fruitful of unity and concord in the years to come as of military advantage in the issue that immediately confronts us.

Underlying the federal scheme there was a majestic conception, the work of the best brains of India and Great Britain, elaborated with the utmost care, designed to bring this great country to a constitutional position equal in status and character to that of the Dominions. None of us overlooked the difficulties. They have always been great. They have always been obvious. They should not be insurmountable. But I will not be misunderstood when I say that they are in no small measure domestic, and that a closer collaboration between parties, communities and interests in this country would go far to pave the way for the final work of the post-war period even if, during the war, the obstacles to handling in detail all aspects of the vast and complex problem of constitutional development may be insuperable.

We stand today at a crucial moment in the history of mankind. Throughout the world mighty forces are engaged in a titanic struggle, the outcome of which will affect the destinies of the human race for centuries. In the Far East the clouds that we have watched gathering for so long have burst in a storm that brings the menace of war even more closely to this land. India is no mere spectator of these tremendous events. They affect her vitally and she is playing an outstanding part in them. Let us in such circumstances forget our domestic

differences and work together as a whole for that common object, the attainment of which is so vitally necessary to India and so anxiously desired by all her people.

When I addressed you a year ago I thought that if you did me the honour to ask me to speak to you at your meeting this year it would be for the last time. A seventh year in this great office would in any circumstances, even the most peaceful, be a heavy burden to carry. A seventh year in circumstances such as those of today, when so much has been crowded into one Viceroyalty, and so many issues of most critical importance have fallen to my lot, is no light matter. For the best part of six years, you have given me in full measure, the powerful aid of your comfort and support, I trust that you may find me deserving of these for yet another year, in which I shall strive, if strength is given me, to fulfil to the utmost of my powers the great charge which His Majesty has once again been pleased to place in my hands."

41. "YOU ARE NOT COMPLACENT"

Jan. 9, 1942 *"You did what many others throughout the world must be sorry they left undone", said Lord Linlithgow addressing officers, men and women of the Karachi Civil Defence Services on January 9, 1942. Text of the address:*

"I am glad to have had this opportunity of inspecting your parade today, and I am much encouraged by what I have seen. Your smartness and steadiness are a credit to you and to the famous city which you serve. I have been following with keen interest the details of your progress and development, and in the field of A.R.P. and Civic Guards you can justly be proud of the fact that you did what many others throughout the world must be sorry they left undone; you saw the danger, you recognised the enemy, and you started to prepare for your defence in time. A year before the organisation of Civic Guards had been set up in India, you had your Emergency Guards in Karachi, and the beginnings of your A.R.P. Scheme go back to 1938. You have moreover persevered in your voluntary tasks with zeal and imagination, and your public spirit deserves not only the gratitude but the emulation of those many thousands of your fellow-citizens who do not stand in your ranks today.

In this vitally important matter of Civil Defence let no man feel that he may safely leave the job to be performed by his neighbour. Such complacency has been the ruin of enough peoples already who took up arms to defend themselves too late. You, whom I am addressing, have not been complacent: you have given up your leisure and your comfort to make yourselves more fit for the duties to which you have so unselfishly devoted yourselves: you have realised that, in modern warfare, the battle line is of infinite depth: it runs through the home of each citizen, however far removed that may be from the sound of the guns: and it is just as important that it should be stoutly manned in your own homes, and in your own hearts and minds, as in the deserts of Libya or the jungles of Malaya. Others, who have not

yet joined your numbers, should realise this too. There is no better tonic for anxiety and doubt than a hard job of useful work such as you are doing ; there is no better way of resisting the insidious probes of the enemy into your courage and determination.

You men and women, of the Police, the Ambulance Services, the Boy Scouts, Civic Guards and A.R.P. Services, are doing a fine job of work. You are all proud, I know, of the magnificent feats of arms performed by the fighting forces of India overseas : yours is the best way of expressing that pride and of proving worthy of the heroism and the sacrifice with which they are keeping the war far from India's frontiers, and winning fresh lustre for her glorious annals. They look to us, those fighting men, to maintain the standard which they have set up. They expect every one of us to maintain it by carrying on, steadfast, confident, determined, at our daily task whatever it may be, and at whatever voluntary labour of defence or preparation we may undertake beside. I know you will see to it, if the test comes, that our soldiers will be proud of you.

Do not lose the momentum you have gained, citizens of Karachi. Do not let the routine of drill or of daily preparations to meet a danger that is still far off, blunt the edge of your alertness. Keep your imagination awake. Think of every untoward thing, however unlikely, however bad, which might conceivably happen here in this city, and see that you are ready to meet and counter it. You have begun well and strongly. You must go from strength to strength, without flagging or weariness or discouragement. There may be a long night yet to watch through ; but you have mounted guard, and you will perform your trust bravely and patiently until your relief comes with the dawn. And the dawn of victory is on its way as surely as tomorrow's sunrise."

42. A NEW PROVINCE

Sind boasts of a monumental work of engineering which was the dream of irrigation engineers for half a century. Lord Linlithgow's speech at the Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind) on January 10, 1942.

Jan. 10,
1942

"Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It gives me particular pleasure that I am privileged to be the first Viceroy to have an opportunity of meeting, on a formal occasion, and speaking to the representatives of the Province of Sind. I am delighted to see how truly representative is the gathering that is assembled here today, consisting as it does of the Baluch Sardars, of members of the landed aristocracy of the province, of legislators and of administrators. I am not, in any case, one who thinks that formal gatherings such as this, even in wartime, have outlived their usefulness. A new province naturally looks forward to the future ; but the country has its roots firmly fixed in the past, and Sind itself inherits a wealth of tradition drawn from a long and honourable history ; it is, moreover, a country of great contrasts both physical and in the character and outlook of its people ; and for these reasons I am sure that you in Sind will

agree with me that Darbars, such as this, at which the representatives of Government and the representatives of the people may meet with traditional ceremonial and solemnity, can still be occasions of great value and inspiration.

The last ten years have marked a great increase in the prosperity of Sind. There is no doubt that in that prosperity the principal factor has been the opening of the Lloyd Barrage and its canals. The completion of this monumental work of engineering—the dream of Irrigation Engineers for half a century—is imperishably linked with the name of that great administrator and devoted servant of the Empire and of this country, Lord Lloyd, whose loss we have so lately mourned and for whose zeal and vision the Sindhi cultivator has so much to be grateful. The Barrage has, as we know, and as was always expected, brought new problems as well as solved old ones. It is perhaps not an unreasonable aspiration on the part of dwellers in those areas of the province which enjoy no benefit from the Barrage that they should be raised to a state of prosperity comparable with that of the Barrage tract, and I am glad to know that projects with that end in view are being actively examined by your Government.

The dispute between your province and your neighbour, the Punjab, over the distribution of the Indus waters is being investigated by a Commission composed of members of the highest standing and experience, in whose ability to produce a solution acceptable to all parties I have every confidence.

It was a matter of great regret to me to hear that your crops last year had been afflicted by two serious pests. The energy with which the problem presented by the invasion of locusts was handled deserves every praise, for the greater part of your crops was saved, and valuable experience was gained, which will help to counter and eliminate that pest in future years. The threat from the boll-worm to your cotton crop still needs most careful investigation, and this I am glad to know has been undertaken with the help of a grant from the Indian Central Cotton Committee. I most earnestly commend this valuable field of research to the attention of all cotton farmers in this province for their wholehearted co-operation, as a means of averting a loss which may well amount throughout the province to crores of rupees.

I make no apology for referring to these agricultural matters first, though it is the war that is in the foreground of all our thoughts and endeavours at this time, since they are important matters for this Province, and the farmer in every part of India is playing as significant and as potentially valuable a part as the soldier and the industrialist in the prosecution of the war.

Day by day we hear of the fighting overseas in which the armed forces of India are giving a magnificent account of themselves, in attack and in defence. They are fighting on and beyond the outer perimeter of our fortress and their valour is keeping the war from India's gates. Their courage and skill will bring us victory, but there is a hard fight still to be fought; and we in India, and particularly you in Sind, who stand in the first line of our inner defences, must be

worthy of our soldiers, sailors and airmen overseas and must give them the strength and confidence that comes from knowing that behind them India's inner line of defence is secure and stoutly manned. The enemy today is still far from our frontiers—both on the East and on the West,—and please God he will ever remain so. But he is a cunning enemy who does not fight on the battle-field alone ; he seeks also, by spreading alarm and confusion behind the front, to undermine the steadfastness and courage of civilian populations. It is perhaps the utmost that he hopes to achieve in India ; and we must see to it that his hope is a barren one. We have seen what disorder he wrought by that means among the countries in Europe which he overran and how disastrous for the defence of these countries was the impediment caused by refugees : we have seen too in the example of the island fortress of the United Kingdom how the threat and the terror can be withstood. The enemy must never gain such easy triumphs here. Each one of us behind the lines can best secure not only the ultimate triumph of our cause, but the present safety of our homes and our families by remaining steadfastly at our work and carrying on with calm confidence and determination at our daily tasks. If to these tasks each citizen were to add membership of one of the voluntary Civil Defence Organisations, the Air Raid Precautions Services or the Civic Guards, then the defence of Sind, and India's defence, would be doubly sure. I cannot too strongly commend the invaluable contribution which these Services are now making to our war effort, and I hope that their rank will soon be swelled by many thousands of new recruits, in fact by all public-spirited citizens, who for the love and honour of their country would lend their aid in establishing and increasing a state of disciplined preparedness.

I deeply appreciate the generosity with which gifts of money have been made to the Sind War Planes Fund and to His Excellency the Governor's Fund—though I cannot fail to observe that it is not always the most prosperous parts of the province that have taken the lead in this generosity. I acknowledge with especial gratitude the results achieved during the recent Sind War Week. These sums, when added to the money which Your Excellency has sent me after your tour in Southern Sind, will suffice, I am glad to say, to cover the cost of mechanisation of a complete battalion of the Baluch Regiment, with which your province has such old and strong associations.

Before I end, let me turn for a moment to the important subject of law and order in this province. For territorial and geographical reasons, and to some extent also because of the commonly felt difficulty in police force organisation of anticipating the demands of a growing population and more complex administration, your Government must still rely to a great extent on the influence and example of large land-holders for assistance in maintaining law and order. I am very glad to see so many here whose influence, I know, is a strong factor in the preservation of peace within the borders of their estates. I particularly appreciate the work, in this connection, of the great Baluch Sardars whose traditions of helpfulness to the administration have been well maintained. Your Government has, however, now taken up

vigorously the question of the increase of the police force in the province and has shown by its recent actions that it will not tolerate lawlessness in high places. Sind is a country where respect for religious leaders and for the families of religious leaders is deeply engrained and it would be deplorable if these traditions should operate for the degradation instead of for the uplift of those who follow them.

I thank you once more for the cordial welcome which you have given me today. Before I take leave of you, it is fitting that I should pay a tribute to the wise leadership, the experience and the sound judgment of your Governor, His Excellency Sir Hugh Dow. I do not need to expatiate to you in Sind on his qualities, nor of the admirable assistance and support which he receives from Lady Dow ; nor need I tell you of the sympathetic and understanding guidance which you may expect from them both in the conduct of your daily affairs, the problems of administration and the welfare of your people, whether in wartime or in peace. There are few among you who cannot claim them as old friends of yourselves or of your families. In returning to Sind they have returned as it were to their own country, and you are all aware of the devoted personal care with which your Governor and his Lady have the interests of Sind at heart.

And now, although my all-too-short visit to your province, is not yet over, I bid you good-bye, confident that Sind will bear a worthy part in the supreme endeavour which demands all our energies today. The stakes are high—no less than the continued existence of civilisation as we know it—and I know that you, sharing the fixed determination of all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of our Allies, will do your utmost to hasten the day of destruction for our enemies, so that we may join once more in the works of peace and the establishment of a new era of goodwill, unity and prosperity here in India and throughout all nations of the world."

43. TO INDIANS IN SINGAPORE

Feb. 6, *Lord Linlithgow's broadcast to Indians in Singapore on February 6,*
1942 1942 :—

"To each one of you, sons and daughters of India, who are standing shoulder to shoulder with the brave defenders of Singapore I send this message. Just as you may be thinking today of some part of India which you hold dear, so you are at this moment held very clearly and dearly in the hearts and minds of your friends and loved ones here in your motherland. Let that knowledge, and their love and pride, their confidence in you, strengthen you. The safety and honour of India are in your brave hands ; the safety of your homes, your villages, your families, and the honour of your proud and ancient land. You are the wardens of her Eastern gate.

The enemy is treacherous and ruthless, but we in India know that you, and those who are fighting and working by your side, will stand firm and will not give him passage, however long and rough the fight and the trial may be. The forces of the mighty Empire of which you

are members, and of our great allies are gathering strength and will soon enable you to deal much deadlier blows than those which you now endure, until the enemy is utterly destroyed. Be strong, have faith and courage ; carry on your daily work with calm confidence, helping and encouraging one another. God be with you all."

44. WELCOME TO GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

This is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good—a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number 800,000,000 souls—one-third of the population of the world—said Lord Linlithgow on February 9, 1942 welcoming His Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek on a visit to India :—

Feb. 9,
1942

Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek—

In the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I bid you welcome to India.

My Colleagues of the Executive Council of the Government of India are gathered in this room to do honour to a great man, and to a great lady, and to mark a moment which, I am persuaded, will come to be known as a turning point of history. This is a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls—one-third of the population of the world : it is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good, and this they soon will learn to their cost.

I know that I speak for every one of my Colleagues when I say how deeply sensible we are of the honour that Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have done us in voyaging so far, across great mountains and rivers, through all the perils of the air in time of war, to strengthen the ancient links of friendship that stretch across the centuries between China and India.

Geography has set a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all those elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them.

We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day ; a day when China, following the path prescribed by the reverend Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and father of the Republic, and under the leadership of her National Government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan.

For a long time before we ourselves were privileged to stand as allies by your side in the line of battle, we have had good cause to admire the bravery and staunchness that have characterised China's gallant and unremitting resistance to the aggressors. China's heroism is the inspiration of us all. As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom. In the maintenance

of that struggle we know well that you, our guests today, have carried the chief burden. Be assured that, to the utmost of our power, we will co-operate with China, even as she is mightily aiding us. I ask Your Excellency to believe that these are not mere words : my Colleagues and I affirm that India's heart is one with China and that we will strive powerfully to discharge our share of the burden in furtherance of our common cause, and so by our added effort, to bring nearer the day when China and the whole British Empire, with our great allies, will march together to the ultimate and inevitable victory.

For us it is a matter for pride and pleasure that, at a moment which the direction of China's war effort into even stronger channels must be claiming your daily attention, you have felt able to undertake this visit to our country. A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China's Examination Yuan, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, and from him we learned that, vast though the land of China is, her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause, in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China's unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world.

Your Excellency, I must not prolong unduly my words of welcome. You will have opportunity hereafter, I trust, for further meeting and profitable discussions with my Colleagues.

We are privileged now to do honour to the leaders of China's manhood and womanhood, happily in our midst today. India is proud and glad to receive you. From our hearts we hope that we shall be able to make you comfortable here after your arduous journey ; that you, and the other distinguished guests whom we are privileged to welcome with you, will derive pleasure and interest, and some rest, during your visit to our land. We believe that incalculable good will come of this meeting not only for India and China but for the whole world. On behalf of India we extend the warmest welcome that our hands and hearts can give to Your Excellency, to Madame, and to all who have accompanied you."

45. CHINA AND INDIA

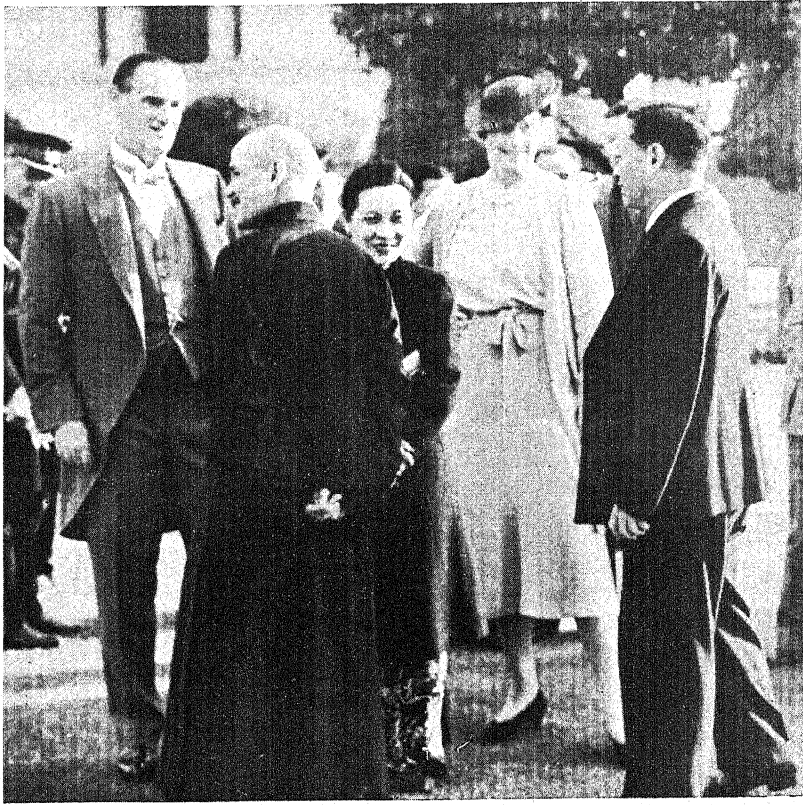
Feb. 10,
1942

We see now more clearly than before how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilization they have in common—remarked Lord Linlithgow at a Banquet at the Viceroy's House on February 10, 1942 given in honour of the visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek :—

"Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked 'Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ?'

None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who, on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished companions.



The Viceroy, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Lady Linlithgow and a member of the Generalissimo's staff.

The story of China during the last decade cannot be read apart from the names of our guests of honour. They have woven themselves into the heroic pattern of fortitude, determination and united endeavour, which China today holds up, as it were as a banner to the civilised world.

I do not need to remind you of what is already history. Throughout nearly five bitter and strenuous years the Generalissimo and his consort have concentrated and symbolised in their persons the glorious resistance of Free China to the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor. In a dark hour for the British Empire the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, once declared that we would fight on 'if necessary for years, and if necessary alone'. China has honourable cause to know the meaning of those words. Standing alone against a powerful and well-prepared enemy, she has kept alight the torch of freedom, and in her heroic struggle our guests of honour have throughout borne the heaviest burden.

That burden is scarcely lighter now, although, thank God, neither they nor we stand alone; for today as Allies, with strength and resources joined, we face the future with renewed determination and confidence. A few weeks ago His Excellency the Generalissimo accepted the Supreme Command over all the Forces of the Allied Nations operating in Chinese theatre of war, which will include Indo-China and Thailand. We are proud indeed that one of the first acts of the Marshal and his wife after the assumption of that great command has been to visit our land of India. Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common. In both, the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail: in both the lamp of freedom has been lit: and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end.

Her Excellency Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we know, has been an inspiration not only to the cause of China itself but to the greater world, and most certainly to India. We have heard of her tireless labours in the cause of war relief and in finding homes for refugee children and for the orphans of gallant soldiers killed in the struggle. We know too that she has been frequently exposed to the dangers of war and has accompanied her husband on his campaigns. It is our good fortune that she accompanies him, too, on his errands of friendship, and we are proud to have her with us tonight.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard how at this time, when the enemy is threatening the eastern bastion of our fortress, the soldiers of China have come, without hesitation and without stint, to stand by the side of ours on the Burma front. That is the act of a great Ally, and of a brother too. These are the men—and here is their leader—among whose battle honours are inscribed the names of Changsha and Taierschwang. We shall fight this war, therefore, confident and proud

in the knowledge that we shall be with China through rough and smooth, through fair weather and foul until the victorious end. It shall be with us as with John Bunyan's pilgrim :

*' Whoso beset him round
With dismal stories
Do but themselves confound
His strength the more is
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.'*

With God's help our pilgrimage, side by side with China and our other mighty Allies, shall not end until the enemy is utterly destroyed, in Asia, in Europe, on the high seas ; until our banners of victory float at last on a free air, purged of tyranny and oppression. There could be no happier augury of that dawn of victory towards which we now march together than the presence with us tonight of the two leaders of China's fight for freedom.

" Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose the health of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

46. NATIONAL WAR FRONT

Mar. 10,
1942

India is threatened: " this is a call to action for everyone of us."

Lord Linlithgow's message to India on March 10, 1942 :-

" I send this message to all men and women who live in this land, whatever their politics, their religion, or their race. You will be invited, during the next few weeks to enrol yourselves in the National War Front. The land we live in is threatened with danger. This is a call to action for everyone of us. Close the ranks and stand shoulder to shoulder against an aggressor whose conduct in the peaceful countries which he has outraged brands him as barbarous and pitiless.

The soldiers of India in many parts of the world have fought and are fighting gloriously for the safety of their motherland, for the preservation of her ancient inheritance, for the bringing to pass of her hopes for the future. Today the battle front is of great depth, and each one of us can be a soldier too.

Stand steady, encourage the brave, strengthen the faint-hearted, rebuke the babbler and root out the hidden traitor. Make good the defence of the country today ; go forward to victory tomorrow, for without victory, there is no hope for the survival of free institutions, culture, or kindness, in the world. We are members of a worthy company, China, Russia, America, Britain and a score of others. Let each one of us in India be worthy of our own country and of our comrades, for thus shall we make our victory swift and sure. I confide in your courage."

47. PRINCES' PLACE IN INDIAN POLITY

Lord Linlithgow here reviews the progress made by the States in adjusting themselves to rapidly changing currents of world opinion. On this, Lord Linlithgow says, depends "their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has got to be evolved." **Mar. 16, 1942**
The States' handsome contribution to war effort is acknowledged. Address at the opening ceremony of the Chamber of Princes on March 16, 1942 :—

"Your Highnesses,—It is my privilege today to preside, for the fifth time during my tenure of office, over the Chamber of Princes, and it is with real pleasure that I see so goodly a gathering of Your Highnesses assembled here today. My satisfaction is the greater because the time itself demands that those in authority in this country should meet and take counsel for the common good. A good attendance is also appropriate to the celebration, as it were, of the Chamber's coming of age. It is just over 21 years since this Chamber was inaugurated here in Delhi by His late Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the close of whose long career of devoted public service is so fresh in our recollection. I notice that in the course of our proceedings Your Highnesses propose to pay what I know will be something more than a formal tribute to his memory. For myself I will say only this. Few of us who are here today can have been present at that inauguration ceremony, but we shall all do well to bear in mind the eloquent words in which His Royal Highness then described the purpose of this Chamber and the lofty ideals which he set before it. One passage in that historic speech has struck me as peculiarly relevant to the circumstances in which we find ourselves today. His Royal Highness spoke of the King-Emperor's confidence that in good times or evil the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes could always be counted upon, and recalled how 'when most was needed, most was given.' I am very sure that in the closing months of his long life His Royal Highness must have derived much comfort from the manner in which it has been demonstrated by the present generation of Princes that those words are as true now as they were 21 years ago.

In India, too, we have the loss of old friends and colleagues to mourn. By the death of His late Highness of Cutch the Princely Order has lost a distinguished and venerated member, a Ruler endowed with singular charm of personality, who so long ago as 1921 had the distinction of representing India at the Imperial Council in London, as well as at the Assembly of the League of Nations. We mourn also the passing of Their Highnesses of Cochin, Manipur, Charkhari and Dhrangadhra, to whose bereaved families and States this Chamber will no doubt offer its condolences, as well as a message of welcome to those upon whom their great responsibilities will now devolve. And in this category of new Rulers, to whom we look to carry on the high traditions of their ancestors I would include the young Maharajas of Kolhapur and Bijawar to whom His Majesty's recognition has been accorded since the last meeting of this Chamber.

There is however one sphere in which, for the time being at least, the old order will not change nor give place to new. I refer to

the circumstances, which to the best of my belief are unprecedented, in which Their Highnesses the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber are to continue in their high offices. In the ordinary course of events elections would by now have taken place and the results would have been announced during our present session. A proposal was however made by certain members of the Standing Committee in accordance with a provision to that effect which had been wisely included in the Chamber's Constitution, that the terms of office of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor should be extended. The views of all members of the Standing Committee were then, as required by the Regulations, formally invited, with the result that, the requisite proportion having signified their consent, Their Highnesses of Nawanager and Bikaner were asked to continue in office for a second term.

We have an English proverb which tells us that it is unwise to change horses in midstream. At this time we in India are crossing a very turbulent stream and I do indeed feel that it would be regrettable, from the point of view of this Chamber and of the States in general, if we lost the services of these two Princes to whom, if I may speak for Your Highnesses as well as for myself, we all owe so great a debt of gratitude. I do not need to tell you about the treasure house of wisdom and experience which His Highness of Bikaner has acquired in the course of his long and most distinguished career. As for His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib I cannot praise too highly the cheerful alacrity with which he has responded to our incessant demands upon his time and patience. In fact the necessity for his advice and support at headquarters has recurred so frequently that he must have come to look upon Delhi and Simla as a kind of second home. I think therefore that I shall be rightly interpreting the sense of opinion in this Chamber by conveying to both Their Highnesses an expression of our gratitude that, in deference to the wishes of their Brother Princes, they have consented to continue in the performance of their duties as Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor.

I shall refer later to the war situation and to the part played by the Princes in this connection. But in these critical times it behoves us to remember factors which, though not directly connected with the present grave trend of events, are nevertheless of immense importance from the point of view of the Indian States. I refer particularly to the urgent need for the States to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing currents of world opinion, and to leave undone nothing which will help to achieve not only their own healthy development, but also, if I may strike a graver note, their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has yet to be evolved. I shall therefore speak as briefly as possible regarding three matters which, during the past year, have continued to engage the earnest attention of myself and my Advisers—amongst whom I would include your distinguished Chancellor.

First, I regard it as my duty to repeat in as few words as possible what I have said in previous addresses to this Chamber regarding the absolute necessity, so far as the smaller States are concerned, for some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative

efficiency which is beyond their individual resources. In my last address I remarked that steps to this end had already been taken in many parts of India with visible, though not as yet spectacular, results. The last year has seen further and encouraging progress, but I regret to observe that the progress has been mainly apparent in one area only.

Elsewhere there are schemes to this end under consideration ; but there are other large areas, comprising many States which in my judgment can certainly not afford to stand aloof in this matter, where no sign of this vital principle of co-operation has yet begun to emerge. It is my duty therefore to urge all concerned to press forward in this matter, and to realise that when I urged upon this Chamber the necessity for some form of pooling of sovereignty I did not do so without full appreciation of the sacrifices involved, nor yet of the gravity of the eventual consequences which my advice was designed to avert.

Secondly, I should let Your Highnesses know that I have had under consideration a scheme designed for the safeguarding, during the initial years of a young Ruler's responsibilities, of standards achieved under periods of minority administration. A definite policy still remains to be formulated ; but I have reached the preliminary conclusion that the object in view can best be achieved by a formal constitution under which all State business would be transacted in a Council of Ministers over which the Ruler would normally preside and whose recommendations he would not disregard or override without good reason. So great are the powers and responsibilities to which Rulers succeed at an early age, and so numerous the pitfalls which beset their footsteps, that no one who has the best interest of the States at heart could, in my opinion, take exception to safeguards of this nature, designed as they are mainly for the purpose of inculcating into young Princes the habit of orderly and methodical disposal of business.

Thirdly, and lastly, I should like to say that I was delighted to learn recently that, in spite of all other preoccupations, the vexed question of Civil Lists and Privy Purses has again been receiving the active attention of Your Highnesses. This problem, of deciding what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be earmarked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Privy Purse expenditure, is one of the greatest complexity and delicacy. The general principle that such distinctions ought to be made was unanimously accepted at the session of this Chamber in 1928 after a full debate on a Resolution very eloquently moved by His Highness of Bikaner. Experience has perhaps since shown how difficult is the task of translating principle into practice. Nevertheless it ought to be tackled with courage and resolution. I applaud, therefore, the foresight and statesmanship of those among Your Highnesses who are making such determined efforts in that direction. It would indeed be a notable achievement if those efforts were to lead to the formulation of some systematic plan likely to commend itself to the Rulers as a body and such as I or my successor could confidently recommend for

acceptance by this Chamber, and thereafter by all individual States. I trust, therefore, that the endeavour will be energetically pursued and that, in order that we may not be at cross purposes in so vital a matter, the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee will not hesitate to take my Political Adviser into their confidence before the final stage of their deliberations is reached.

I address myself now to the sterner topic of the war and all that it means to us. When I last addressed Your Highnesses, it was my privilege to acknowledge the inestimable value of the co-operation and generous support of the Indian States to the war effort of India as a whole. The last twelve months have seen the war reach the threshold of India and have added greatly to the demands for every kind of service and sacrifice made upon us all. The response of the States to these demands, which must become more insistent as the tempo of the struggle quickens, continues to be worthy of their great traditions ; their contribution covers every field of India's war effort and embraces every form of service. Several of Your Highnesses have visited our Indian troops in different theatres of the war,—visits which have been as highly appreciated by our officers and men as, I am sure, they were instructive and encouraging to Your Highnesses. It is also a matter for special pride that the Princely Order includes some who have served, are serving, or are preparing to serve, as combatants with His Majesty's Forces in the field. There is one particular case which I think Your Highnesses would wish me to mention, namely, that of the eldest son and heir of a member of this Chamber, who met an untimely death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. To His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, I would like to offer on behalf of this Chamber as well as from myself a sincere expression of our deepest sympathy.

Apart from the personal service of Rulers and members of their families, the manpower contribution of the States, whether to the Indian Army or their own State Forces, has been of the highest value ; in money their support continues to be generous and unstinted ; in material, be it aircraft, house accommodation, rolling stock, launches, the produce of their forests, mines and factories, or the provision of comforts for the troops, they have done everything in their power to meet, and indeed to anticipate, all of the many calls made on them. Whatever difficulties and dangers lie ahead, I am confident that the great measure of support which the Indian States have given so freely and so spontaneously will be maintained and even augmented.

I referred in my last address to Your Highnesses to the efforts made to keep the Indian States in close touch with current events of importance, and expressed the hope that the steps taken to ensure the closest co-operation between the States and British India would be of mutual benefit. Since then the scope of the measures taken to achieve maximum co-ordination has steadily expanded. The most signal instance of this united front has been the participation of representative Princes in the deliberations of the National Defence Council, and I welcome this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the

readiness of those Rulers, in spite of their many pressing pre-occupations at this time, to make long journeys to Delhi or Simla in order to lend the prestige of their presence and the weight of their experience to this most important Council of War. I sincerely trust that I may be able to count upon the continuation, at its future meetings, of this personal support, the need and the value of which will now be even greater than before.

I believe too that the representation which the States now enjoy on the Central Price Control Conference and the Provincial Price, Supply and Transport Boards, as well as on the other organisations which I mentioned last year, and the informal discussions which some of Your Highnesses have had, and are about to have, with the Supply, Commerce and Civil Defence Members of my Council, will be of the greatest advantage not only to the States but to the whole of India. To associate the States even more closely with the Central Government, and to place readily and promptly at their disposal the fullest and most up-to-date information on economic, Civil Defence and other matters, direct correspondence between certain Departments of the Government of India and the larger States has been authorised, and an officer has been added to the staff of the Civil Defence Department to deal solely with Civil Defence problems affecting the States. I trust that Your Highnesses will not fail to seek the advice of that Department on the measures which should be taken in your States to provide adequate protection for your subjects against the consequences of attacks from the air. While in some parts of the country that danger may still appear remote, in others it is unquestionably a grim and imminent possibility which must be faced, and the need for making timely and adequate preparations cannot be over-emphasised. I earnestly desire, therefore, to impress upon Your Highnesses the heavy responsibility which each State must shoulder and discharge in this matter which so closely affects the safety of its people.

I am aware that some of Your Highnesses have expressed some disappointment at the shortage of modern arms and equipment available for supply to Indian States Forces training units. Steps have been taken to make good this deficiency so far as the situation permits, but Your Highnesses will agree with me that it must be left to General Headquarters to decide how best such supplies of arms and equipment as are available can be utilised. Some of Your Highnesses have, from time to time, expressed a desire that Indian States Forces units should be given a more active role than had in their judgment been allotted to them. The recent fighting in Malaya, culminating in the fall of Singapore and the loss of many of our valuable troops, including a number of units of the Indian States Forces, will I think, have convinced Your Highnesses that a regiment employed in such a role as guarding an aerodrome is rendering vitally important service, and may at any moment find itself at grips with the enemy. I trust, therefore, that Your Highnesses will appreciate that all of your units serving with His Majesty's Forces, whatever role be allotted to them, are contributing with equal value to the common object. When I addressed you in this Chamber last year, I said, in referring to the different conditions

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readiness of those Rulers, in spite of their many pressing pre-occupations at this time, to make long journeys to Delhi or Simla in order to lend the prestige of their presence and the weight of their experience to this most important Council of War. I sincerely trust that I may be able to count upon the continuation, at its future meetings, of this personal support, the need and the value of which will now be even greater than before.

I believe too that the representation which the States now enjoy on the Central Price Control Conference and the Provincial Price, Supply and Transport Boards, as well as on the other organisations which I mentioned last year, and the informal discussions which some of Your Highnesses have had, and are about to have, with the Supply, Commerce and Civil Defence Members of my Council, will be of the greatest advantage not only to the States but to the whole of India. To associate the States even more closely with the Central Government, and to place readily and promptly at their disposal the fullest and most up-to-date information on economic, Civil Defence and other matters, direct correspondence between certain Departments of the Government of India and the larger States has been authorised, and an officer has been added to the staff of the Civil Defence Department to deal solely with Civil Defence problems affecting the States. I trust that Your Highnesses will not fail to seek the advice of that Department on the measures which should be taken in your States to provide adequate protection for your subjects against the consequences of attacks from the air. While in some parts of the country that danger may still appear remote, in others it is unquestionably a grim and imminent possibility which must be faced, and the need for making timely and adequate preparations cannot be over-emphasised. I earnestly desire, therefore, to impress upon Your Highnesses the heavy responsibility which each State must shoulder and discharge in this matter which so closely affects the safety of its people.

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of service obtaining in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army, that 'in uniformity lies simplicity and efficiency.' Since then several proposals of importance to that end have been made to States maintaining Indian States Forces and have been accepted, although in certain cases with some reluctance and delay. I fully realise that proposals designed to eliminate such differences as still exist between the conditions of service in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army may not always be welcome, but I wish to assure Your Highnesses that they are made solely with a view to increasing the efficiency of the Indian States Forces and are intended to have effect only for the duration of the war, after which the whole scheme under which those Forces are embodied will come under review in the light of the experience gained. Meanwhile, in the present grave emergency I am confident that Your Highnesses will not hesitate to agree temporarily to forego, in the common interest, prerogatives and privileges, however greatly they may be valued, should they in any way impede India's war effort. I desire, in this connection, to mention particularly the commendable action of certain States in the Eastern States Agency in voluntarily delegating authority to the Resident to make decisions on their behalf in matters affecting the military situation, provided that such decisions are communicated to them immediately afterwards.

The flower of India's manhood is to be found today in the Indian Army and the Indian States Forces, but I need not remind Your Highnesses that a constant stream of reinforcements must be maintained and that the need for augmenting our present forces is insistent. Above all, young men of the best type are required to come forward and be trained to lead our troops; modern war demands a high degree of training and initiative from military leaders, and I hope that Your Highnesses will do everything in your power to ensure that institutions such as the Pre-Cadet School at Indore, which have been set up to enlarge the supply of potential officers are fully supported. I trust also that your Highnesses will not allow the need to maintain a reasonable margin of safety in regard to your local arrangements for internal security unduly to hamper the making of the utmost possible contribution to the forces which India requires to repel external aggression; regard to local arrangements for internal security is natural and prudent, but in the present emergency the interests and safety of India as a whole demand that every able-bodied man and every unit that is not essentially required for the maintenance of internal tranquillity should be made available to resist and attack and finally to defeat the common enemy.

That final victory is only a matter of time would emphasise that the speed and success with which that goal will be attained, and in fact the very safety of India, her dignity and her standing in the eyes of the world, will in no small measure depend upon the attitude of her people to the threat of aggression. There has been peace in this land for so long a period that we had perhaps become too prone to believe that nothing could disturb it, too sceptical of the need for making sacrifices for its preservation. That peace is now rudely threatened, and it behoves us all, and not least Your Highnesses, who are the

hereditary wardens of India's martial traditions, to show that India has the strength and determination to face and defeat the common enemy. With that in view I earnestly invite the support and co-operation of Your Highnesses in the National War Front. Your Highnesses will have read my message. The objects of the National War Front—which I believe will attract innumerable adherents throughout the length and breadth of India—are to maintain public morale, to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it; and in particular to counteract fifth-column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to encourage a defeatist outlook; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance; and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown. I trust that the National War Front will derive its strength and vitality from the patriotism of private citizens and public-spirited leaders. It will be their task not only to resist the insidious forces of evil but to assume the initiative and to inculcate the principle that no form of defence is more effective than attack.

The indomitable Prime Minister of Great Britain has asked :— ‘ what sort of people do our enemies think we are ? ’ Our enemies shall learn, if they have not learnt already to their cost, what kind of men this land of India breeds. India has vast material resources. She has mighty Allies. She has a great soldier for her Commander-in-Chief. She has the loyalty and bravery of her sons who are heirs to the superb traditions of the Indian Army and who are already writing the first chapters of a glorious record for the Royal Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force. Within the last few days India has received a message of new hope for all who look to see her take her rightful place among the free nations of the world. There is now coming to us across the world a Minister who, in Mr. Churchill's words, carries the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and will strive in their name to secure the necessary measure of assent to the conclusions on which they are agreed. In Sir Stafford Cripps India has a trusted friend on whose fairness she can rely, a statesman who has already carried out with conspicuous success one important mission in a distant land, and who is animated with a burning zeal for the defeat and final extinction of the aggressors and all they stand for. Your Highnesses can count on his readiness to give the fullest consideration to the views which you will doubtless lay before him and I know that I can rely on you to give him a warm welcome and your wholehearted co-operation in the discharge of his great responsibilities. For you know full well that on you, the representatives of Princely India, lies, as on us all, an obligation to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her testing time of trial and danger.”

48. "PROUD TO BE YOUR PRESIDENT"

Mar. 23,
1942

Extracts from Address to the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society and the Central Joint War Committee on March 23, 1942 :—

"During the last six years I have watched with close personal interest the development of your organisations. The great work to which you have set your hand and all that you have achieved, especially during the last 2½ years of war, make me proud to be your President. I am particularly glad to think that the extension of my office, to which such kind reference has been made, will give me an opportunity of prolonging my close association with you for another year.

Sir Cameron Badenoch has described a year of progress and activity by the St. John Ambulance Organisation and Brigade. The advantages of the training given by the Association are now widely recognised, and I am glad to observe that the number of people trained in first-aid and home nursing this year is a record.

In various provinces during the past year I have been privileged to see members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade on parade, and on every occasion I was much impressed by their bearing and the quality of their work. I would like especially to mention the useful work of the Transport Units at the various Ports, and the Auxiliary Nursing Service which has played such an important part in the expansion of the military nursing services.

It was a fine spirit too, and in the best tradition of the fellowship of St. John, which inspired the Medical Unit which recently volunteered to go from Madras to the relief of air-raid victims in Rangoon.

In these times the war and all the problems which flow from it naturally have the first call on our energies and resources. It is all the more to the credit of the Indian Red Cross Society that it has not been prevented from going steadily forward with its peace-time activities, including maternity and child welfare work. Among its many other activities it is worthy of note that the Society was able to send 10,000 doses of plague vaccine to China, and medical stores of various kinds to Russia. These are striking examples of the manner in which the Society has been able to help our Allies, and we may be sure that this is only a beginning.

We have all listened with special interest to Sir Bertrand Moberly's account of the work of the Joint War Organisation. When I spoke to you last year I said that difficulties might be expected. During the year your Committee has had to face new difficulties and unexpected demands which greatly strained their resources. Nevertheless, the record of the year's work is one of achievement, for which General Moberly and those associated with him deserve all credit.

Our thanks are particularly due to Colonel Sir Richard Needham, the Red Cross Commissioner in the Middle East, who has had a most difficult task in the areas for which he is responsible and who has done it well. We are grateful, too, to Lady Ward for her ready and generous help at a critical time in Iraq.

Major-General Macrae, who, as the Red Cross Commissioner in Malaya, had, with his staff, worked hard to build up an efficient organisation, is a very real loss. To him and to his helpers, you will, I know, wish to convey a special message of gratitude and sympathy.

There are now over 1,000 work parties in India, and I would like to pay my tribute to the splendid voluntary work which they are doing. But it is not enough. Twice as many work parties and four times the present output in bandages, surgical dressings, hospital clothing and ward accessories will scarcely be enough if we are to be prepared to meet every call which may be made upon us. I look to you, ladies and gentlemen, to see that if the call should come, our effort shall not fall short.

I sometimes feel that India, and the world outside, should be told more of what the Joint War Organisation is doing, and what it intends to do, and what its requirements are. Meetings such as this attract some publicity, of course; but this only happens once a year. I hope that those among you who are interested in publicity will bear in mind what I have said, and will do your utmost, all the time, to keep the work of the Joint Committee and of the two organisations before the public eye, to explain and interpret it to the public, and thus to enlist their whole-hearted appreciation and support.

The great expansion of work and responsibility which has marked the past year has thrown a heavy burden on the finances of the Joint War Organisation, and has, I know, been a source of anxiety to the Honorary Treasurers. Contributions from my War Purposes Fund have met the cost of sending weekly parcels to the 2,000 Indian prisoners of war in Germany; it has assisted, too, in meeting the cost of despatch of parcels to Geneva, for which admirable work is being done by voluntary workers in Bombay. But during 1942 commitments in every direction will undoubtedly be vastly increased owing, principally, to the large number of our soldiers captured in Malaya, as well as civilians interned there, for whom provision will have to be made.

We shall, of course, have to enlist the help of Government, but voluntary effort and private generosity will still have to be the means of conveying that extra food and clothing which does so much to make the life of a prisoner of war more endurable. I have had a generous response from the Governors of Provinces whom I asked to guarantee from their War Funds a regular income for the Red Cross Organisation; my own War Purposes Fund, too, is always ready to help, and your committees need never feel that they must curtail their beneficent activities owing to lack of funds; but when the full extent of our commitments is apparent, I may have to make a further

appeal to the people of this country for large sums of money. I have no doubt that their response will be at least as generous as it has been in the past, for that money will be spent on the relief and succour of men of this country whose deeds have already made history in many distant lands.

Whatever this year may have in store for us—and the test will not, be a light one—I feel that we have established organisations which, inspired by unselfishness, imagination and generosity, which are the three springs from which all humanitarian enterprise flows, will answer speedily and effectively every call that may be made upon them. I am confident that the Red Cross and the St. John Ambulance Association in India will be true to their fine and ancient traditions and will not be found wanting in the critical times which lie ahead of us.

In that firm belief and trust, I thank you all for what you have done and I wish you every success in your future endeavours."

49. FOOD DRIVE

April 6,
1942

Message to the " Food Drive " Conference on April 6, 1942 :—

" I am grateful to all the representatives of Provinces and States, who, by coming to Delhi at short notice, and in some cases, I fear, not without personal inconvenience, have made it possible to convene this important Conference.

The problems before you are urgent, and their solution will be a vital contribution to this country's war effort.

India, fortunately, has so far escaped the ravages of war as other lands have known them, and we have not, so far, had to resort to rationing or curtailing those essential food supplies which countries elsewhere have had to forego. But today the war is at our gates, and if we are to maintain our position in this respect, it is imperative that we should aim not only at self-sufficiency, national as well as regional, in foodstuffs and animal fodder, but also at increased production all round, to meet our growing commitments. The best results can only be achieved by planning on an all-India basis.

The task before you, therefore, is no light one ; but I am sure that you will undertake it with vigour and despatch, and with a full appreciation of its urgency. I hope that ready co-operation will be forthcoming from Provinces and States to implement your recommendations.

I am sure too that the planned agricultural policy which your deliberations should produce will be not only an important contribution to India's war effort, but will also prove of lasting benefit to her when victory has brought us peace once more. India is, and for a long time yet, is likely to be mainly an agricultural country, and her prosperity will greatly depend on the care and forethought which she devotes to her major industry.

I wish you all success in your endeavours."

50. INDIA'S UNARMED FORCES

"We are unarmed, what can we do? Let Government put arms in our hands and we shall spring to the defence of India like one man." May 7, 1942
 To this, Lord Linlithgow replies in a broadcast on the National War Front on May 7, 1942.

"The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign," he says.

For National War Front, he enunciates a creed to which every Indian could subscribe "without sacrificing a single principle or abandoning a single aim." Text of the broadcast :—

"Early in March, just after Rangoon had fallen, I sent you a message. The war had arrived at India's gates and had suddenly become the affair of each one of us, not as spectators but as combatants in our several fields. I invited you to close the ranks and stand steady behind the fighting men in a national war front against the aggressor. Since then much has happened; India's own soil has been attacked and our capacity to "take it," as others have taken it, has been tried. Ceylon has been attacked and a Japanese fleet has ranged the Bay of Bengal, sinking our ships and drowning our seamen. True, it has withdrawn for the moment. Depend upon it, it will come back. In Burma the Japanese are in Lashio and Mandalay. But, on the whole we many consider ourselves lucky in that we have had a long respite before the real attack begins. For that we have mainly to thank General Alexander and the Indian, British and Chinese forces who, outnumbered and cut off from reinforcements of men and supplies, have by an epic resistance won us what we so greatly needed, time. General Wavell, in his inspiring talk a fortnight ago, told you what good use was being made of this breathing space. The military and air strength of India is growing daily. Under a Commander in whom we all have implicit confidence, our armed forces are going to give a good account of themselves against any attack that our enemy is able to launch.

What of the rest of us, the unarmed forces of the country? Are we going to give a good account of ourselves? Not, I suggest, unless we stand shoulder to shoulder and work actively for the common cause. I have often heard it said lately 'We are unarmed; what can we do? Let Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man.' Well, here is my answer to that. Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed in June 1941? During the long agony of China have ordinary men had arms in their hands? The answer is, 'No.' The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign.

The activities of irregular bands operating behind an enemy's advancing line can be of very great value provided they are fully trained for this most exacting task. This phase of warfare is being developed and will be more fully developed as arms become available.

Meanwhile the position is that the expansion of the regular army proceeds apace, and we put no limit on it. We require therefore for fully trained soldiers all the modern arms that are available.

What then can we, the unarmed forces of the country, do? Let me remind you of what General Wavell has said: that of the elements which contribute to success in modern war, the spirit of the people is the most important. That is our responsibility, yours and mine, and that is why I invite you again to join together in building a national war front. I do not care whether we spell this with capital letters; I do not care, in fact, what we call it. We all know what it means, a united determination, transcending all racial, religious and political differences, to stand up and stand together to defend the things we have and hope to have and to make sure that they shall never be so threatened again.

I used the word 'build,' for India's war front will not come into being just by wishing or talking, but only by doing. Two things—and two things only—are needed, the will to unite and the will to act. I see no difficulty in finding unity: there is nothing in our objects to which any one need hesitate to subscribe, unless, indeed, he sympathises with the way of life which our enemies would impose on the world—and to such I make no appeal. These are the objects which those who join us will adopt as their own:—

To do everything possible to help and maintain public morale, that is to say, to strengthen the war resistance of the people; to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it, and in particular to counteract fifth column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to produce a defeatist mentality; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance, and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown.

I say with confidence that every man and woman in this country can subscribe to a creed such as this, without sacrificing a single principle or abandoning a single aim.

Many people ask the question: 'What can I do?', not, I know, as an excuse for doing nothing, but in genuine uncertainty. Let them reflect that in a war like this there is hardly anything which a man does or omits to do which does not help or hinder victory. To those for whom a place in the armed forces is waiting, I say 'Fill it quickly.' For the rest of us there are opportunities galore; the Civil Defence Forces are crying out for wardens, fire-watchers, doctors, nurses, ambulance men, helpers of all kind. Civic or Home Guards and Pioneers need men. Women are wanted in hospitals, in offices and to run canteens for troops. There are refugees to be helped. Let us look into our daily lives: are we wasting money, food, clothes, electricity, petrol, coal? If we are, we are delaying victory. Do we travel when we need not do so taking up space badly required for troops and munitions of war? Are we farmers? Then can we not grow more food grains? Are we factory hands? Then are

we working our utmost? Whoever we are rich men, poor men, officers, clerks, business men, labourers, housewives, servants, be sure there is something which we can do which will hasten the day of victory. A determination cheerfully to do our best in fulfilment of the ordinary humdrum tasks and duties of our daily lives, and to continue in this despite any attempt by the enemy or his agents to disturb or frighten us, is for many of us the greatest contribution that we can make towards winning the war. Do not forget what even one day added on to the war means in terms of human suffering and material loss.

We must achieve unity and action and we must combine in a spirit of attack. Passive defence or masterly withdrawals, forced on us as they are at times, do not win wars. Let us attack our work, attack the rumour-monger, attack the defeatist. We must make our front an attacking front, and think always in terms of the offensive.

There is no one in India who does not know that, if all what we value is to survive, if hope is not to die, this war *must* be won; every thinking man knows that, with the resources which the United Nations have, it *can* be won; whether it *will* be won or not depends on ourselves. So let us build the War Front in India, while there is yet time. And let me end by commending to you two lines which my wife quoted in a speech some time ago—

'Look in your hearts, make inquisition there
Of service done in this supreme of hours.' "

51. CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA

"*Yours is a brotherhood of service the like of which the world has never seen before.*" Lord Linlithgow's message to the Civil Services of India on May 21, 1942 :— May 21, 1942

"A little more than six years ago, I spoke to you, who are members of the Civil Services of India. I asked you to give to the people of India the best that is in you, to the limits of your strength, in the difficult years to come. I spoke to you at a time of peace, when none of us knew what grave events and what tremendous problems the years would bring. I asked you then for your support and help; and, in peace and war, I have had it in full measure. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for it.

Yours is a brotherhood of service the like of which the world has never seen before. Men of different race and religion, Indians and Britons, highly trained and carefully chosen for your respective duties, you are linked together by common allegiance to one Crown and pledged to the service of millions of your fellow-men, in many different fields,—Engineers, Doctors, Foresters, Scientists, Educationists, Policemen, Judges, Administrators and many others. You and your predecessors have set high standards of loyalty, impartiality, sound judgment, humanity, an unselfish example and a co-operative spirit. But the steadiness with which you preserve in these the torch which

you hold up in India can be a bright flame of hope and encouragement in a distracted world.

Hard work, great responsibilities, often danger and discomfort, are your lot. In spite of this, I know well how keenly disappointed many of you are that you are not allowed at this time to serve your country on the battlefield. But let none of you think for a moment that he is not fighting for his country by steadily pursuing his appointed task, however prosaic and unspectacular that may seem to be, and by shouldering cheerfully the additional burdens of the war. The rule of law, peace and security for the citizen, and the progress of civilized arts and science which it is your task to promote and guard, are the very conditions of decent living for which we are all fighting. For the sake of the future and for the maintenance of public morale today; for the safety and well-being of many helpless peoples who depend upon you there must be no interruption of your work. If you were to slacken or falter you would betray the common cause as surely as a soldier who deserts his post; and that I know you will never willingly do.

Remember that the individual soldier can see only a small part of the battlefield: remember, too, that although the lime-light may not fall your way, the eyes of the people are fixed on you, and their temper and steadiness, if trouble should come, will greatly depend upon your leadership and your example. Be with them as much as possible. Serve and comfort them always. Put away doubts, and face whatever trials the future may bring with high hearts and a firm resolve to give the best you have got, and better still, of body and mind in whatever field your duty may be set. You are heirs to great traditions of courage and service, which you will not fail; and today it is in the power of each of you to add a splendid page to the record.

Victory is assured, but single-minded endeavour now can bring the day of victory nearer. There is work enough for each one of you today: and when the swords are sheathed again, and a new world has to be built, there will be no lack of opportunity to share that great task, I promise you, for devoted and unselfish men and women in this India which you serve."

52. IN THE LAND OF MARTIAL CLANS

Oct. 19,
1942

Reply to the Address of Welcome at the Rawalpindi Durbar on October 19, 1942:—

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen,

No man could witness unmoved a gathering such as yours today, in this famous Division of a famous Province; and it is with deep gratitude and pride that I, your Viceroy, have listened to your words of welcome and to the splendid record of your achievements.

Wherever in the world there is talk of brave deeds and soldier-like qualities, of endurance and fortitude, the men of this land are brought to mind. Here for centuries generations of sturdy farmers

have won their harvests from the hard earth, and have defended their heritage with courage and resolution. Since the dawn of history India has bred famous soldiers; the hills and plains which surround us can justly claim to be a cradle of heroes, a soil which has nourished the flower of India's armies. There are among us today brave men who fought for freedom and civilization in the last World War, and now that these two precious jewels are in peril once again, their sons and grandsons are keeping bright and sharp the sword they forged and are facing our common enemies with the same stout shield.

On every battlefield of this war, where our armies are fighting and have fought, Punjabis have won fresh laurels: in France and the Middle East, in East Africa, in the Far East and in Burma. And where our armies stand on guard, or eagerly await the order to attack, there are Punjabis to be found, valiant wardens of their native land and loyal upholders of the United Nations' cause.

Foremost among them are the men whom the martial clans of this Division have sent forth. Your record of recruitment is magnificent, and you and your Recruiting Staff are justly proud of it. Your young men, following the honourable path of service which their fathers trod, have discovered that modern war gives them new weapons to master, and strange elements in which to excel. But, whether in the Royal Indian Navy, where they are so strongly represented, or in the Indian Air Force, or handling tanks and carriers with the same skill and confidence as a few years ago they rode their horses the fighting men of the Punjab today nobly maintain and enhance the great traditions to which they are worthy heirs.

'The fighting man,' as a young Englishman, who was killed in the last war, wrote—

*'The fighting man shall from the Sun,
Take warmth, and life from the glowing earth;
Speed with the lightfoot winds to run,
And with the trees to newer birth;
And find, when fighting shall be done,
Great rest, and fulness after dearth.'*

I believe that our soldiers will have found something else as well, something of great value in the task which will still face us all, once victory is ours, the task of setting right a shattered and disjointed world. They will have discovered unity of purpose and of endeavour. Such unity, though it may sometimes seem to be hidden unfathomably deep in India, is not, I believe, really so far below the surface. Certainly the war is day by day developing a very real sense of its urgency and importance in the minds of all thinking men. And among India's fighting men, the comradeship and loyalty of the battlefield will have engendered so strong a sense of unity with their brothers in arms, not only of Indian race, but of all peoples of the United Nations too, that, please God, when fighting is over, it will remain as one of the fruits of victory to inspire and illumine all our endeavours in the post-war world with a spirit of co-operation and goodwill.

I have said before that in modern warfare the battle front is of infinite depth. It runs through the homes and lives of all of us, and there is not a man, woman or child that cannot play a useful part. War, as you know, is not all fighting. Much of it has always been the unspectacular business of watching and waiting, of training and preparation, of co-operation in a thousand different ways behind the lines. In modern warfare particularly, a very important part is the attitude of mind of the peoples engaged, soldiers and civil population alike; a sense of realities, a determination never to yield to despair or impatience, which we call morale. The National War Front in India, a movement which is gaining in strength from day to day provides an opportunity for every one of us to bear a share in building up and maintaining that spirit of confidence, resolution and co-operation throughout the country, which is such a powerful support for the soldier in the front line.

You in Rawalpindi, who naturally look at these things through soldiers' eyes, will realise the importance of what I say. I was most encouraged to hear of the many ways in which, besides the supply of recruits to the fighting forces you have been mightily aiding the war effort; in your A.R.P. preparations and in the activities of your Civic Guards; in your splendid contributions to War Funds; in Red Cross and St. John Ambulance work. And I would like to mention the work of the Punjab Police who, supported by your good sense and the firm and consistent policy of the Ministry, have contributed so much to the peaceful record of the Punjab during the recent disturbances and have done so much to maintain security in the villages from which the young men have gone forth to war.

May I remind you, too, that many of you who have to remain at home can admirably support the men who are fighting for you by looking after their interests while they are away, by helping the families of men who have gone overseas, by succouring the wounded and comforting the bereaved? This you can do on your own initiative in the villages, and by co-operation with the Civil authorities, the Civil Liaison Organisation and the District Soldiers' Boards, whose efforts can only bear fruit if they are freely given the help and goodwill of the people.

Among the advantages of a soldier's training I give a high place to a certain steadiness of outlook and sound commonsense, which no good soldier lacks. Throughout the ages these sterling yeoman qualities, ingrained as they are in the people of this Province, have caused the Punjab to play a solid, and exemplary and a distinguished part in the history of India's political and constitutional progress. The Punjab is fortunate in its leaders. You have a Governor, Sir Bertrand Glancy, of ripe experience and ready sympathy; you have a Prime Minister (a great Prime Minister, if I may say so, and a man of your own Division) possessed of wise counsel and keen imagination; and you have Ministers endowed with great industry and sound political sense. In this Division you are particularly fortunate for, as I have already mentioned, from Attock comes Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, under whose guidance and that of Sir Mohd. Nawaz Khan the district

has done splendidly. In Rawalpindi Captain Tikka Khan and many others have contributed to the wonderful recruiting record. Jhelum is proud of the military prowess of Colonel Sir Sher Mohd. Khan, now commanding a battalion; Gujrat looks for guidance in the war effort and in many other things to Nawab Sir Fazal Ali; while in Shahpur there is that famous old soldier General Sir Umar Hayat Khan whose son, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, is doing such admirable work as a Minister of the Punjab Government. The Division has been fortunate too in its Commissioner, Mr. Marsden, who has held that important post since before the war began. With unflagging energy and with the full support of an able team of Deputy Commissioners and many other officials in all the departments, he has been stimulating the war effort in every district. They all deserve great credit for what has been achieved and it is most gratifying to hear the work of your officials so highly praised everywhere.

Under the leadership of men like these the qualities which I have mentioned, the gift of keeping both feet on the ground and the eyes fixed on realities, have enabled the Punjab today to maintain peace and order, and to continue steadily with its great war effort, while in other parts of India ill and misguided counsels have led so many to the bitter and poisonous waters of civil commotion. By their steadfastness and commonsense Punjabis, and those of the Rawalpindi Division as much as any, are helping to bring near the day of victory for the United Nations, and for all India the day on which she shall enter into her promised heritage.

The land of the Five Rivers breeds a race of mighty wrestlers, who know what courage and endurance means. We are now grappled in a mortal struggle with a powerful adversary, skilled in the use of many a trick and foul throw. We have wrestled all through the night, and once or twice we have been nearly thrown. But we have our enemy firmly now and as the day dawns his breath begins to come short and fast. Let us hold on grimly and watch for our opportunity. All our training, our stubbornness, our confidence and enthusiasm will have its reward. Soon now we shall throw him, and it will be a mighty fall. He will never rise again and we shall stand forth at last victors, and free men in a free world."

53. FIRST VISIT TO BALUCHISTAN

Lord Linlithgow had at last, on October 22, 1942, an opportunity, looked forward to for so long during his Viceroyalty, of visiting Baluchistan. Oct. 22, 1942
Reply to Address of Welcome presented by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta :—*

"Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful for the reception which you have given me, and I am delighted that I have at last had the opportunity, to which I have looked forward for so long, of visiting Baluchistan and the city of Quetta. I thank you, members of the Shahi Jirga, leaders and representatives

* A "Jirga" is a council of elders in North-West Frontier.

of the tribes of Baluchistan, for your kind words of welcome, and for your loyal assurances. You have given practical expression to your loyalty in the co-operation which you have extended to the local administration, not only by maintaining peace and order among your tribes, but also by producing recruits for the Camel Corps, labour for defence works and additional levies for the protection of Government property and installations. I fully appreciate your concern that the natural resources of Baluchistan should be developed to the greatest extent, and indeed it would be in the interests not only of this Province, but of the rest of India too, if it were possible to make full use of its mineral wealth, and in particular of its coal. I assure you that this matter shall have the close attention of my Government. I hope too, that with a view to increasing the self-sufficiency of this area, the importance of increasing the production of food crops will not be forgotten, within the limits prescribed by the facilities for irrigation.

I deeply appreciate the contribution which under your guidance the people of Baluchistan have made and are making to the war effort of India, and not least, at this time especially, by the steadiness and sturdy commonsense with which they have refused to allow the internal peace and order which prevails in this Province to be disturbed.

I am grateful to you, members of the Quetta Municipal Committee, for your cordial welcome. I well know the difficulties which have faced you in recent years; first from the effects of the great earthquake, then the war and now the interruption of communications caused by this summer's floods in Sind.

You are entitled not only to sympathy but to admiration too, for the energy and imagination with which you have grappled with this succession of problems, and I am glad to learn that your handling of the supply arrangements and the rationing of essential commodities has not been without success. I need not assure you that I shall continue to watch the position with keen personal interest, and shall give such assistance as I can to your efforts to obtain what you require from outside.

You have reason to congratulate yourselves on the remarkable figures which you have quoted of Baluchistan's financial contribution to the war effort. Part of your contribution has taken very tangible and practical shape as armoured carriers, and I deeply appreciate the steady support which my War Purposes Fund continues to receive from this Province.

I appreciate, too, the helpful attitude of the Municipal Committee towards the measures which have to be taken for air raid precautions. I am glad of the opportunity which I have just had of inspecting your A.R.P. Services: they are a workmanlike body of men and women and I know that should the need arise for them to put into practice all that they have learnt during their long months of training and preparation, they will amply prove their worth.

I know the difficulties in recruiting and training such services in an area where the population is to a great extent migratory, but I would like to express my keen appreciation of what has been achieved, and to say that the citizens of Quetta owe a debt of gratitude to these public-spirited men and women who have given up their leisure to prepare themselves for the defence of the lives and property of their fellows. It is an example which deserves not only praise and gratitude, but emulation, and there are still many among your fellow-citizens who could afford to join their ranks, and vie with them in their enthusiasm and their determination to contribute their utmost to the winning of the war.

This is a war of all the people, of every man, woman and child, in whatever walk of life, however far from the battle zone. Let each one of you remember that your individual effort, added to the joint effort of the many millions of the people of the United Nations can shorten the war by bringing nearer the triumph of our arms, by a day, an hour, a minute. There is not a moment to be lost: for in modern warfare, which is total war, the hastening of victory by a day or an hour may mean the saving of hundreds or thousands of lives.

The National War Front, which is gaining so steadily in strength throughout India, is a front on which you can all fight. Scotch idle rumour and scorn the insidious and lying propaganda of the enemy. Build up a strong bulwark in your hearts of confidence and resolution. Take courage from the certainties which are before your eyes. We have been swimming against a strong current, but the tide is surely turning now. At one time we fought alone, but look now at the great peoples and armies of our Allies who are by our side: the people of the United States, of Russia, of China, and many others. Consider the mighty armaments which we are accumulating day by day and with which we shall soon outstrip and overwhelm the enemy. He is still strong and formidable, but he is becoming desperate, and his days are numbered. His strength is the strength of ruthlessness, oppression, cruelty and treachery, but our strength is the strength of all free men, and our cause is just.

Hold on then, grimly and with determination. Put every ounce of your strength, of body and mind, into a supreme effort, and you will find that the day is not far distant when we, with our Allies, shall sweep forward like an irresistible flood which will drown deep the forces of evil and wash the memory of their foulness for ever from the earth.

My time in India is drawing to an end—in a few months now I hand over to my successor. Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the Province is making to the prosecution of the war."

54. UNITY IS PRE-REQUISITE OF PROGRESS

Dec. 17,
1942

"We are familiar with the suggestion", said Lord Linlithgow in his farewell address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 17, 1942, "that the troubles of India are due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power. I would say exactly the contrary. Those troubles are due to Great Britain's expressed readiness to part with power."

"I can myself claim", said His Excellency, "to have brought together Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf between parties, interests and communities."

"Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small," urged His Excellency.

Lord Linlithgow referred to Sir Stafford Cripps Mission, "the latest evidence of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government" in the matter of India's political future and the proposals carried by him, "reasonable proposals" according to the verdict of world opinion, "proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned"; but they failed to secure agreement.

In any case, the Governor-General's Executive Council had been materially enlarged. Further, the National Defence Council, "a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States" had been established. Taking the measures of the previous three years together, Lord Linlithgow claimed that a very material and a very real advance in the association of non-official Indians with the Government had been made despite the decision to suspend the federal scheme.

The year 1942 had been at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or external situation. The Government had to deal with "an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress Party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section". At a time when the efforts of all were directed to India's protection against Japanese aggression, the damage and destruction caused by that small section resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption, deeply to be regretted, in the war effort. Text of address:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

As you have reminded me, this is the seventh occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. It is an occasion to which throughout my Viceroyalty I have always looked forward, and an opportunity

which I deeply value of talking to you, Gentlemen, on the great problems of the day. This is the last time that that honour will fall to me, for though, as your President has so kindly said, the King has been pleased to ask me to retain my present office for a further period, by the time that the Associated Chambers next hold their annual meeting I shall no longer be in India. I welcome all the more your kindness today in inviting me to be present and thus giving me the opportunity to take farewell of the Associated Chambers, and to thank them for all the invaluable help and co-operation that they, and those for whom they stand in this country, have given me through seven long and anxious years.

Before I proceed to the business of my speech, I would like to associate myself most warmly with what you said about His Excellency the Governor, Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and about Lady Mary. He has had an anxious and difficult time as the Governor of this great Presidency at a time when Bengal, and Eastern India as a whole, have been in the front line. We owe him a great debt for his energy, his interest, and his constant anxiety to see that everything possible is done to safeguard his charge, and to protect a vital bastion of India's defence. And we all of us know how constant and how invaluable has been the help lent him by Lady Mary Herbert in all good causes in Bengal.

In your speech, Sir, you have touched on a number of matters of great interest and importance. You took occasion, if I may deal with that matter in the first place, to sound a note of warning against the withdrawal of all incentive from private enterprise, and in this connection you cited the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to a rebate of excess profits tax. As you are aware, the policy of the Government of India in regard to the rate of the excess profits tax in this country has been markedly more generous than in some parts of the Empire, or than in the United Kingdom. For its effect is to leave to an enterprise in this country, subject of course to income-tax and super-tax, one-third of the excess profits, in addition to the whole of the profits of the most favourable standard period or, in the case of new concerns, a generous percentage on the invested capital. I venture to think that in the conditions created by a total war the incentive thus left to private enterprise is very real. I would claim indeed that it is as great as could reasonably be expected. And you are aware, gentlemen, too, that arrangements exist under which a rebate of excess profits tax to be paid after the war can be obtained by depositing twice the amount of the rebate with Government at 2 per cent. interest for the period of the war and one year thereafter. Action on these lines would seem to be a wise precaution on the part of industry and as profitable as wise. I trust sincerely therefore that industrialists will utilise the concession which has been offered. For by doing so not only will they benefit themselves. They will help to achieve the mobilisation for the period of the war of as much as possible of the excess profits earned during the war, and so to reduce the pressure of enhanced purchasing power on the general price level; and they will in that way make a material contribution to the country's interest.

And in that connection let me refer to the risk of an inflationary rise of prices. That is an issue of vital importance, and one which is continually present to my advisers. It is one in which responsibility lies as heavily on the public as it does on the Government. Few will deny that production must continue at maximum intensity, and must expand wherever possible in the interests of the war effort. But that inevitably means the existence in the country of a great and continually growing volume of purchasing power, since payment for everything that is produced must be made in rupees in India, whether the expenditure is incurred on Indian account, or on account of His Majesty's Government, or for the purpose of reciprocal aid to the forces of the United States of America stationed here. The actual allocation of cost has no relevance in this connection, and the problem will clearly be with us on a continually growing scale for at least as long as the war lasts.

I would like if I may to emphasise again that for a solution of this difficult and important problem the Government must be able to rely on the utmost assistance, co-operation and support from the non-official world. I look to the leaders of commerce and industry, who have given us such invaluable help in the past, to assist in securing an adequate response to the Government of India's defence loans. But above all I am convinced of the necessity for small savings playing their part. During the three and a quarter years since the war started the small saver's contribution to the return, as savings, of a portion of the vast volume of purchasing capacity which the war and supply activities of the country are placing in the hands of the people has—and I say it with regret—been of negligible importance. That is far from a healthy state of affairs. I am sure that personal interest, and active propaganda, can do much to better it. I would appeal to all employers of labour to organise, encourage, and assist their employees to save, and to conserve their savings, through the various avenues which the Government of India have provided for the purpose. I know that it is only by persistent and unremitting effort on the part of all employers of labour that that can effectively be done. But if that effort is made, and maintained, there will be results of immense benefit to all sections in this country, and not least to the poorer classes, whom the rise in prices most seriously affects. I am sure, Gentlemen, that where your great authority and influence are concerned, I can with confidence look for the fullest help and co-operation in this matter.

I listened with close attention, Sir, to your remarks on the all-important question of food supplies. This is a question constantly present to me, and never more so than during recent months. The creation of the new Department of Food, to which you have referred in such friendly terms, will I trust before very long effect some improvement in the situation. Close study of the cause of the present apparent shortages and the high prices which are evident in many centres suggests that though India has, of course, been deprived of its accustomed rice imports from Burma, the difficulties of the present situation are due less to any real deficiency of supplies than to the mental reactions of great sections of the community to the abnormal times in which we

are living. I realise fully that the greatly increased calls made on the transport system of this country for defence purposes reduce its ability to do all that it did in pre-war days for the movement of civil supplies. But, since August last, the railways have allowed priority to the transport of food-grains, and I am assured that in this respect there is now considerably less delay and dislocation than were reported to be prevailing five or six months ago. Nevertheless during recent months the supply situation has grown more acute and prices have risen with increased rapidity.

It is sometimes suggested that our present troubles are due to the policy of price and movement control adopted by the Government of India, and by various Provincial and States Governments, and that if trade were left free from restriction the interaction of supply and demand would result in commodities finding their way where they were most needed, and in a price level determined by normal forces. That is a plausible contention, and it merits careful scrutiny. But I am myself, after anxious thought, convinced that it is unsound. The control of supplies and prices has been found necessary by practically every administration in the world today. No one is more disinclined to embark upon the perilous and difficult course of control than a Government. For Governments know all too well the troubles and anxieties that control brings with it, and, in experience, they have recourse to this policy when, and only when, the operation of uncontrolled economic forces has produced a situation which can no longer be permitted to continue unchecked. And to remove controls is not, to my mind, the solution of the present difficulties. On the contrary the proper course may probably lie in the direction of an extension of control to a wider range of articles, and of a more direct participation by Government themselves in the actual procurement and distribution of supplies.

I will not take up your time, Gentlemen, with any detailed narrative of the steps my Government have taken and are taking. The Wheat Control Order, the Regional Price and Supply Boards, the Food-grains Control Order, the Grow More Food Campaign, are all evidence of the anxiety of my Government to deal with this most important problem. In the matter of price control, as thorny a question as any, much has been done. More still may have to be attempted. The difficulties of enforcing maximum prices by penal provision are only too familiar to you. And the existence of black markets is well known. But while we may not have had full success in enforcing maximum prices I am certain that the prescription of such prices had a very real and immediate value, to the extent that it has served to retard the rate of price increase over the whole range of the commodity controlled. And let me say in that connection that I fully agree with what you, Sir, have said, about the simplification of the licensing and permit system; and that it will be the aim of the new Department to simplify control operations as much as possible, in the interests alike of administration and of the general public.

But whatever policy is adopted, or whatever measures are put into force, no lasting success can be hoped for without the wholehearted

co-operation of the whole body of the community. If the workers in our transport and communication systems, our war industries, and our essential services cannot be provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means, the war effort will be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers. It is more essential now than ever that every citizen should sink his individual interests in the common cause, and realise that, if he concentrates on serving himself alone, he is endangering not only the stability of the whole community but his personal security as well. I would therefore associate myself, Sir, most wholeheartedly with your plea for the co-operation of all the interests involved in solving our present difficulties, difficulties, as I have said, due not so much to shortage of resources as to disturbances of normal routine. If we secure that co-operation, the difficulties which are now being experienced throughout India will shrink to less menacing proportions. No effort, let me assure you, will be spared to meet a situation the gravity and importance of which my Government so fully realise.

You referred, Sir, to the difficult questions that arise in connection with the requisitioning of business and residential property. I need not say that my sympathy is very great indeed for those who, whether in their business arrangements or in their private lives, have had to suffer the grave and serious inconvenience which requisitioning involves. I note with full attention and appreciation the views that you have expressed on this matter, and I will see that they are brought to the notice of my Government, who already have the whole matter under active consideration.

When I had the honour of addressing the Associated Chambers on previous occasions since the outbreak of the war, I dealt in some detail with the work of the Supply Department. I trust sincerely that you, Gentlemen, who are so closely concerned, and so familiar, with the operations of that Department, are satisfied that we are doing our best. I think you will agree with me that we have achieved immense things in the field of supply. Errors and misunderstandings there must always be. It is impossible to avoid them. But, broadly speaking, we can feel that in the field of supply India has made a contribution of outstanding importance and value, and nothing will be left undone to ensure that during the remainder of the war the upward curve of improvement and of development shall be maintained.

I do not propose today to trouble you with any lengthy details of progress under particular heads. But one or two facts and figures I might quote, for they are very striking. For the first six months of the war the value of contracts placed was approximately 29 crores. For the six months from April to October 1942 it was 137 crores. Over the whole period to the end of October 1942 it has been no less than 428 crores. And those figures exclude the value of the work done in the Ordnance Factories, which is in itself very considerable. They include only the contracts actually placed through our Purchase Branch.

During the last year, progress with the Roger Mission projects has been satisfactory, and I hope that the Roger Mission programme as a

whole will be getting into production from the early months of 1943 onwards. The preparatory work in India has been ahead of the receipt of plant and equipment from abroad. The flow of munitions components from trade workshops is maintained. The magnitude of India's effort in respect of munitions and engineering stores is now shown by the tightness of key materials such as steel, of which very considerable imports are expected from the United States. Further important schemes for the expansion of steel production have been approved.

On the general stores side, our measures to double the production of filature-reeled silk are well in hand, and the production of statichutes on a substantial scale is established. The production of web equipment, which was *nil* before the war, now stands at about 200,000 sets a month, and unless the demand decreases it will be doubled in the course of 1943. The possibility of expanding the chemicals industry is under active consideration. Ship construction has been amalgamated with ship repairs, and a new Directorate-General established at Bombay to deal with both activities.

The year indeed has in the supply field been one of steady progress. We welcomed during its course the visit of the American Technical Mission, which was a very useful stimulant and most helpful to us in every way. The far-reaching scheme of industrial expansion recommended by the Mission would, if accepted in full have involved the earliest supply to India by the United States of large quantities of materials and equipment, and of large numbers of technical personnel. The United States Government have found it impossible to implement this programme in full in present conditions. But they have generously offered to consider any projects which are essential for war effort, and to which the Government of India attach particular importance; and we are already receiving very significant assistance from the United States in the form of materials, machinery and plant. Let me only add that during the unhappy disturbances of this autumn labour at most industrial centres remained staunch, and those losses of working time that had to be recorded were due rather to the difficulties to which the workers were subjected than to any desire to go slow on the part of the workers themselves.

I welcome your friendly reference to the work of my Commerce Department. Much of the war work that has fallen to that Department has necessarily involved interference, often serious interference, with the normal practices of industry and commerce, and it is perhaps natural that its activities, though undertaken for the common benefit, should have been the cause of dissatisfaction to individuals. I appreciate the more your remarks about its attitude in the more directly beneficent field of war risk insurance. And I am emboldened to believe that, on a wider and more detached view, its anxiety to mitigate the inevitable unpleasantness attached to measures of control will also receive recognition. Let me assure you, Gentlemen, that the Government of India are most appreciative of the invaluable assistance which they have received from the War Risk Insurance Advisory Committee, as well as of the co-operation of the Insurance Companies, which have

consented to work as Government Agents in return for out-of-pocket expenses only—a notable voluntary contribution to the war effort.

I have listened, Sir, with close attention and interest to what you said about British trade and commerce in this country. Your anxiety, in your own words, is that British trade should be given a fair deal, and allowed to conduct its business without discrimination or expropriation; and you touched in your remarks on the history of Britain's contribution to India, whether in the commercial or in the administrative field. I was glad to hear what you said. For there is too great a tendency, and not merely where India is concerned, for Great Britain and the British people, confident as they are in fact in their own record and in their own capacity, to show that confidence by self-depreciation, a self-depreciation which is unjustified, and which is very apt to be misunderstood. Whether in this war, or in the past, Great Britain can, with all humility, claim that she has achieved great things, and that her contribution to human progress and happiness, and her record, and that of her citizens, at home or abroad, in commerce, in administration or in the Fighting Services, is one to be proud of.

And there is no part of the Empire in which we can look back on a greater record of achievement than in India. Law and order, the arts of peace, greatly raised standards of wealth and of prosperity, the elimination for practical purposes of grave famine, of disease, throughout this sub-continent, that security in which India has been able industrially and politically to reach her present high place among the nations of the world—these are great services rendered. Our achievement in India is one that need not fear comparison with any corresponding work in the world. It is indeed to its magnitude that much of the criticism which you mention is due. For it is easy, indeed it is but natural, living in the long settled peace for which Great Britain is responsible, under the unity that Great Britain has achieved, that the decades of war and internecine strife through which this country had passed before British authority was established on its present basis should be forgotten.

In the specifically commercial field to which you have referred, India has derived, and derives today, great benefit, as you, Sir, have reminded us, from the British connection. The immense importance to her of her foreign trade, and of the British trading and business community, the significance to India of the position of the Empire's capital as the centre of a world-wide system, her ability as a unit of the Empire to turn that position to special advantage, were not and could not have been created on the basis of a policy of excluding overseas and foreign interests or personnel. And I cannot believe that the significance of that fact, so well established by general experience elsewhere, will be lost on the India of the future. Whatever mistakes may have been made—and who of us, and what country, is there that has not made mistakes?—we can, I repeat, with all humility claim that Great Britain and her citizens have earned for themselves an honoured place in India, by the standards they have set and by the benefits which long years of peace and prosperity have brought to this country. I am confident that the assistance of the British community,

and the benefit of the British connection to the upholding of India's business traditions and the maintenance and development of India's post-war position in international trade, will be as readily afforded in the future as they have been in the past.

The year now drawing to a close has been one of very great importance in every way for India. For all of us on whom rests the burden of conducting the affairs of this great country it has been one at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or the external situation. When we last met Japan had just entered the war. The early part of this year was marked by the invasion of Malaya, the Japanese advance into Burma, the very active threat to the shores of India, Japanese naval activity in the Bay of Bengal and elsewhere, attacks on Vizagapatam and Ceylon, and strong pressure from Japan in North-eastern India. We had reason for anxiety, too, because of the news from other parts of the Fighting Front. In attack and in defence we have worked in those dark times in close association with the gallant forces of China, whose Generalissimo and his wife I was so happy to welcome on behalf of India in February; of the United States, whose reception from all quarters in India has been so sincere; and of the warrior Kingdom of Nepal, to which and to whose Prime Minister we are bound by such close ties.

In India itself I cannot speak too highly of the steps taken by all concerned to perfect our preparations against invasion, to sustain morale, to organise to meet any situation that might arise. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Defence Forces in this country—naval, military or air—have spared no effort. Defence arrangements have been developed on a great scale. Recruitment and training of troops has been pressed on with the utmost vigour. There have been immense strides forward in civil defence. The keen and constant interest shown in that vital matter by my own Department of Civil Defence has been equally marked throughout India, whether in the Provinces or in the Indian States. We find ourselves today in a happier condition so far as civil defence is concerned than at any earlier period in the war, and the necessity for civil defence, and the organisation that has been developed in connection with it has brought home directly to many whom the war might not in the ordinary way have closely touched the essential importance to India of being able to stand on her own feet, and to repel any attack that may be made from outside.

In the internal field we have, to my keen and deep regret, had to deal since I last addressed you with an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising, which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section. But that section, carefully organised, and unscrupulous, I am sorry to say it, in the methods it adopted, indifferent to the creed of non-violence to which such prominence has been given, was able

to cause immense damage, serious dislocation of communications, much destruction of public and private property, heavy loss to the taxpayer, the deaths of many innocent persons. At a time when the efforts of all of us were directed, and necessarily directed, to protecting India against Japanese aggression and to building up supplies and stores for our own defence and for the battle against the Axis it resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption, deeply to be regretted, in the war effort.

To the sorrow of all of us who care for the good name of India, those disturbances were disfigured by very shocking cases of brutality and violence. And a grievous feature of them is the use to which designing men endeavoured to turn, and indeed succeeded in many cases in turning, the young enthusiasm, the intelligence, and the lack of experience of the student community. Those who diverted those young men, young men of such promise, with their future just opening before them, into the dangerous paths of civil tumult and disorder, carry an immense responsibility to India, and to the ardent and generous youth which they have led astray. In restoring order everything possible was done to use the minimum degree of force, and to cause the minimum disturbance. The success of that policy is shown by the very low figures of casualties. The situation is well in hand as I speak to you today, though even now in certain areas it continues to call for the utmost vigilance and care.

I would like to pay a tribute to the admirable work done in restoring order by the Services, military and civil alike, and in particular by the police, on whom there fell so heavy a burden. And I would like to say a word of warm and sincere thanks on behalf not only of myself, and of my Government, but on behalf of India, to those solid and sober elements throughout the country who, in times of great difficulty, stood by Government, gave their full co-operation to those whose business it was to maintain law and order, and at great risk to themselves, and sometimes at the cost of grave injury, formed rallying points around which the law-abiding and the loyal citizen could gather, and from which he could get assurance and support.

Since the war began you and I have had heavy anxieties. We have realised how great a burden the war has placed upon the Empire and upon India. We have realised, too, as I ventured to say to you in 1939, that the fate of India in the international sphere turns on the success of the Allied Arms. We have been heartened and supported in those dark days by India's response, by her generosity in men, money, and materials, by the heroism of her sons, whether from British India or the Indian States. As I speak to you today the outlook is brighter. We are far still from the end of our troubles. There lie ahead of us before final and decisive victory can be won, much hard fighting, inevitable reverses, possibly even serious disasters. All those things are what war is made of. They must be expected. They must be provided against so far as we can hope to make such provision. If things go badly reverses must be borne with a stout heart, with a resolution to amend what has been faulty, and to go ahead with confidence and courage, and with the certainty that we have right behind

us, and that victory is ours in the end. But you and I, whether in our private lives or in public affairs, are all of us conscious today of the improvement that has taken place, of the immense difference made by the brilliant campaigns that have been waged last year and this year by our Russian Allies ; by the successes of the Allied Arms in Africa, successes in which Indian troops played so distinguished and outstanding a part ; and by the great battle that even as I speak the forces of the United States and those of the Commonwealth of Australia are fighting in the Far East. It is too early yet for optimism. But we can feel that our earlier confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle, however dark at times things may have seemed, has been justified, and that, while no effort can be relaxed, we can look forward with an easier mind to the concluding stages of the war.

I listened with deep satisfaction to the remarks which you, Sir, were kind enough to make about the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the tribute which you were good enough to pay to its work. Since we last met, that Council has undergone a material expansion. Working in the closest of contact with its Members and with the Council as a whole, I can, from my own knowledge and experience, speak of its capacity, its courage, its unity, its devotion to the interests of India. I need not tell you how great is the value to the Governor-General of colleagues such as those with whom it is now my good fortune to work in the Executive Council.

I turn now with your permission, Gentlemen, to the position in the constitutional field. I came here in 1936 with the hope that before I handed over I might see in full operation the Act of 1935, an Act often criticized, but the result of years of patient work by the best minds of India and Great Britain. That Act provided, as you will remember, for extensive autonomy in the provincial sphere and for a federation of India at the Centre.

The scheme of provincial autonomy came into being in April 1937, and it has been in operation since that date. The Congress Party, who at first were critical of the scheme, decided in July 1937 to take advantage of it, and in those provinces in which there was a Congress majority in the legislature Congress Governments remained in power till October 1939. They then decided that they could no longer carry the responsibilities which fell upon them, and withdrew from office. In the absence of a majority government, those provinces have since that date been governed under the special provisions of the Act. In the remaining Provinces autonomous governments have throughout (save for a brief period in Assam and in Orissa) been in control of the affairs of their provinces, and are in control today.

In the provincial field let me say at once that I am perfectly satisfied, after the experience of the six years since 1937, with the essential soundness of the scheme of provincial autonomy. It has worked with success in all the Provinces. As I speak, it is working smoothly in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind, and Orissa. It would work equally well in the remaining Provinces, as in fact it did, were those for whom the scheme is designed but ready to work it. That we

have had to resort to the emergency provisions of the Act is due to no flaw in the scheme. It is the result of a political decision by the majority party not to carry their responsibilities.

In the Centre the position is different. The Act of 1935 provided for a Federation of India—a federal scheme designed to bring together the Provinces of British India and the Indian States, with a Central Legislature based on a substantial franchise, with solid foundations in the country, representative of the Indian States and British India alike. The scheme of the Act would have transferred power to Ministers at the Centre drawing their support from the legislature. It would have brought together British India and the Indian States. It would have produced in the Centre a scheme of government representative of all parties, communities and interests.

When the war broke out, the preparations for bringing the federation into being, though far advanced, were not yet complete, and, in the immense strain that fell upon us in the opening days of the war, there was nothing for it but to concentrate on the winning of the war and to suspend those preparations. The Government of India continues therefore to be based on the same principles as before the Act of 1935—the Governor-General and his Executive Council responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament.

While as I have said, work on federation has been suspended, I have never concealed from you my own sincere and firm belief in the value of the federal scheme, representing as it did the maximum of agreement between the great communities, the political parties, British India and the States, that could be obtained at the time when the Act was framed. The federal scheme has its imperfections. It can be attacked, as it was attacked, on various grounds, and with plausibility.

But whatever its imperfections, it would have made an immense contribution to Indian political advance. It would have solved the great bulk of the problems in the constitutional field that we have heard so much of over these last few years. It would have welded together with the consent of all concerned, in a common partnership, and for common objects, British India and the Indian States. And it would have provided (and that is what I regard as so very important) a government representative, authoritative, covering the whole, or almost the whole, of India, composed of persons of the highest standing in this country, able to speak with authority, and with general support, on behalf of this sub-continent.

Since I felt at the time that with the postponement of the federal scheme it was of great importance to broaden the basis, and to introduce certain changes in the character, of the Governor-General's Executive Council, I was anxious to get the support of the great political parties, and to produce at the Centre as representative a government as could be found. I will not weary you, Gentlemen, with the details of the discussions, the negotiations, the public statements, that have been made over the last three years. You are familiar with their general outline. Suffice it to say this.

On the one hand during that time my Council has been changed from a body with a European and an official majority, and with a total strength of 7 in addition to the Governor-General, into a body of 15, of whom two only are officials, and three only, in addition to the Commander-in-Chief and myself, Europeans. The remaining portfolios are held by men of the highest character and distinction in the Indian political field, men with long records of service to India behind them ; many of them men who have held office in provincial governments in the past.

In a different field I have been at pains to try to associate popular opinion in the provinces with the work which the Centre has been doing, and in particular with the work which it has been doing in connection with the war. The establishment of a National Defence Council, some members of which I am glad to see here today, has resulted in periodic meetings of a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States, a body that has been taken into the fullest confidence and from which there are no secrets, a body well able to supplement the changed character of my Executive Council by first-hand knowledge of provincial feeling and provincial views.

Taking the various stages which I have just mentioned together, we can thus claim, despite the decision as to the federal scheme, to have made a very material and a very real advance during the last three years in the association of non-official Indians with government in this country.

That is something. But it is not all one could have wished for. As you, Gentlemen, know so well, my efforts have been directed during all this period to getting the parties together, to bringing about with any help that I could give that measure of agreement which is so essential if we are to have a workable scheme. One difficulty after another has been brought forward. One attempt after another has been made by His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself to deal with such difficulties. My own anxiety to see an end of those difficulties, to see India united in agreement, has throughout been as deep and as sincere as it is today. And that is true equally of the Secretary of State and of His Majesty's Government.

I am the more disappointed in those circumstances that none of the efforts so sincerely made should have achieved the object at which we aimed and at which we aim today. Indeed it sometimes seems that our very endeavours to dissipate misconceptions and misunderstandings have tended to widen the gulf between those whom we desire to unite rather than to narrow it. The attitude of His Majesty's Government, their anxiety to see India self-governing under a scheme devised in full freedom by the principal elements in India's national life, their readiness to leave this matter to a body composed of Indians themselves, have been declared in the most emphatic and in the most solemn manner. The mission of Sir Stafford Cripps to this country in the spring of this year was but the latest evidence of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in this matter. And, as you will all of you remember, when the proposals carried by Sir Stafford were made public

*the verdict of world opinion was that those were reasonable proposals, and proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned.

But those proposals, too, failed to secure agreement. The reasons for which they proved unacceptable to the various parties were, as has been the case throughout the melancholy history of this question, mutually destructive. And today I see with deep regret little to encourage me to hope that the conflicting claims (and I do not question for a moment the sincerity with which those claims are advanced and pressed) of the great parties and communities in this country are likely in any degree to be abated. Yet for all that, I would like to feel that the problem is not beyond the genius of Indian leadership, and that it may yet be possible for the various parties to come together and co-operate in forming the executive government of this country.

I have spoken often to you in my earlier addresses of the importance of unity in this country. Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small. That that would be a desirable aim no one, Gentlemen, can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy, of tariff policy, of defence policy, of industrial development. Can India speak with the authority that she is entitled to claim, can she play her part effectively at international discussions, at discussions with the other parts of the Empire, if she is to speak with two voices? Indian unity, subject as I have said to full and sufficient provision for the minorities, accepted as such by those minorities, is of great and real importance if India is to carry the weight which she ought to carry in the counsels of the Empire and of the world.

But there are hard practical issues that have got to be faced before any true solution can be found. Political opinion in all responsible quarters must discover a middle road along which all men of goodwill may march. That indeed is the difficult but essential task which must be performed if India is to achieve the great position we all desire for her. The policy of His Majesty's Government in respect of the future status of India is clear beyond any question. But the achievement of a particular status carries with it heavy obligations. In the modern world, whether we like it or not, a readiness to accept heavy financial burdens, to accept liability for defence on whatever scale one's geographical position demands, at whatever cost; all those are essential. So many today found their hopes and their plans on the confident assurance that the post-war world will be a safe world. I sincerely hope that it will be so. But if that end is to be achieved, and maintained, constant vigilance, constant effort, constant forethought, will be needed. And all that is relevant to what I have just said about the unity of India. A divided people cannot carry the weight that it ought to carry, or make its way in the world with the same confident expectation of success.

But equally, mere artificial unity, without genuine agreement between the component parts, may well be a danger rather than an advantage. For fissures that reveal themselves under pressure from outside are more dangerous than fissures the existence of which is well known and can be provided against. It is only by understanding between party and party, between community and community, understanding that begets trust and confidence, that is based on a liberal acceptance by the parties to it of the historic traditions, the legitimate claims, of the other to a place in the scheme of things that there comes that truly welded result which is able to stand shocks from whatever corner of the compass. Is not that result worth working for? Is it not worth some sacrifice, if some sacrifice must be its price?

Great Britain's help is always available and has been freely offered. In the time that I have been in this country one proposition after another has been advanced by His Majesty's Government and by myself in the hope of producing a generally acceptable solution. I can myself claim to have brought together Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf between parties, interests and communities. Let me say one thing only before I pass from this subject. We are familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India are due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power. I would say exactly the contrary. Those troubles are due to Great Britain's expressed readiness to part with power. It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interests in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Great Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them.

Gentlemen, the further period for which His Majesty has been pleased to ask me to serve in my present office is a short one now. In ten months time or so I shall hand over to the new Viceroy. Believe me when I say that if in that time I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall leave India a happy man. India and all of us have had to face grave and exacting problems during this time of war—very great dangers, heavy responsibilities, much waste of life, much pouring out of resources that could have been turned to such advantage in the arts of peace. The end of the war, so eagerly hoped for by all of us, is not the end of our troubles. When the war ends, we shall be faced by problems that will tax our public spirit, our courage, our resources of body and mind, to the maximum. The problems of demobilisation, of reconstruction, of the resettlement of these great armies, of the adjustment of India to post-war world economic conditions, will be immense. In discharge of the commitment of His Majesty's Government it will be for the principal elements in India's national life to devise their own proposals for the future government of this country, and to reach on those proposals that agreement that is, as I have already said, so essential if any workable and permanent scheme is to be devised. That by itself would be a heavy task. But though it may be the most important task, it will be one only of those that will fall to India on the conclusion of the war. If before I leave

this country I could see that understanding and agreement between the great Indian parties that is a pre-requisite of internal contentment and of progress, I would leave India well satisfied that while progress in these matters, whether in India or elsewhere, must be a business of trial and error, and may be slower than many of us could wish, still that all was set for the consummation of those ideals that have been so close to the heart of those of us who have worked for India's future and for the raising of her stature in the comity of nations.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the attention with which you have listened to me this morning. I will keep you no longer. But on this, the last occasion on which I shall address you, I would like with sincerity and profound gratitude to thank you for the consistent support, for the understanding and for the confidence that over seven years you have given me. It has been invaluable to me, and my gratitude for it is deep indeed."

55. LEADERS' DEPUTATION

**April 1,
1943**

Text of Lord Linlithgow's reply to the deputation from the Leaders' Conference, Bombay, headed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at New Delhi, on April 1, 1943 :—

"GENTLEMEN,—

I am greatly obliged to you for the expression of your views which you have been kind enough to let me have, and for giving me the opportunity of considering it in advance. The matter is one of great importance, and I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding in relation to it. I made clear in my correspondence with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru my readiness that your deputation should in their statement amplify or emphasise any particular points in the Bombay Resolution to which they attached importance and indicate the arguments on which they based their suggestions. I am indebted to you for the memorandum you have let me have, though it is with regret that I do not find in it any fresh argument in support of the suggestions which the Leaders' Conference has put forward; and that I do not find that unequivocal condemnation of the Congress campaign of violence which the public, and I are entitled to expect from you as representing that Conference.

Let me before I proceed to your specific proposals mention, though in no spirit of criticism, that I observe from the list of signatories that the great Muslim community was practically unrepresented at the Conference of Leaders, and that that body contained no representative of the Scheduled Castes and no one in a position to speak for the Indian States. I observe also that the Leader of the Hindu Mahasabha dissociated himself from the resolution passed by the Conference, while organised parties such as the Muslim League were not represented at its deliberations. I am, however, I need not say, at all times glad to hear the views of persons prominent in the public life of this country on the political issues of the day, and to give all attention to any representations that they may make to me.

The specific proposal that you ask me to consider is that permission should be given for certain persons to meet Mr. Gandhi in detention to ascertain authoritatively his reaction to the events that have happened since his arrest, and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation. You feel, you tell me, that Mr. Gandhi has already expressed in the correspondence that has passed between him and me his disapproval of violence and sabotage, and you add that you have no doubt that he will cast his influence on the side of internal harmony and reconciliation. And you urge that if the permission for which you have asked is not given to you, the action of Government will unquestionably be interpreted as meaning that they do not wish to see reconciliation.

Let me remind you first of the salient facts in the position. Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Congress Party, after a long preliminary campaign of incitement, were finally placed under restraint last August. At the time when they were placed under restraint Mr. Gandhi had urged open rebellion, had adjured his followers to "do or die"; had made it clear that there was "no room left for withdrawal or negotiation"; and had both directly and indirectly by his speeches and writings contributed actively to foment that sad and disastrous series of events that disfigured the face of India during the autumn and winter of last year. He and the Congress Party had been given every opportunity to reconsider their position. My Government and I had exposed ourselves to the charge that we ought to have taken action against them much earlier, and that we ought not to have allowed this campaign of violence and sabotage to develop. But our forbearance met with no reward, and we were left with no option in the interests of the security of India, and her defence against Japan and against the other Axis Powers, but to take the action that was taken last August.

Unhappily the arrest of the leaders did not prevent a shocking campaign of organised violence and crime for which preparations had been made before those arrests took place. The paper published by the Government of India clearly indicates the full responsibility of Congress and of Mr. Gandhi for that campaign. The encouragement which it gave while it lasted to the Axis Powers needs no emphasis. Its effect on the war effort was severe. It resulted in most material damage to communications and to public and private properties, and in the murder of many innocent persons who had no concern with, or interest in, the political issues involved.

Despite the fact that Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee have had full access to reliable accounts in the Press since August last, there has never been any condemnation of those activities by them. They have not dissociated themselves from the Resolution of last August from which so many of these evils flowed. Mr. Gandhi's advice to "do or die" still stands on record: and while order has been restored, and the rebellion put down, no one can suggest that the country did not pass through a period of grave danger; and that while the Congress creed remains what it is, we would again be exposed to

that danger if the Congress and its leaders are again given full liberty of action.

You mention that you have seen the correspondence that has passed between me and Mr. Gandhi. I would draw your attention to one most important point. I put it to Mr. Gandhi in terms (for I thought that must be his intention) that if I was right in thinking that he wished to go back on the Resolution of last August, to condemn what had taken place and to give suitable assurances for the future, I would be very ready to consider the matter further. His reply made it quite clear that I had misunderstood him and that that was not his wish, and matters stand at that point.

Thereafter during the time of Mr. Gandhi's fast there was the fullest opportunity for certain of his trusted friends to make contact with him and many indeed of those who were present at the Conference in Bombay had the opportunity of seeing him. Mr. Gandhi, had he so wished, could then, as he could have during the time preceding his fast, or to-day, have repudiated the violence for which Congress was responsible, could have indicated his readiness to resile from the Congress Resolution of August last, and could have given assurances for the future. But nothing whatever positive has emerged as a result of those contacts any more than from the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and myself, and I have no reason to believe that Mr. Gandhi is any more ready now than he was at an earlier stage to repudiate the policy as the result of which the Congress leaders are at present under detention.

Now, Gentlemen, I have done my very best in the time that I have been in this country to try to improve relations and to try to get the parties together: and I do not think it can be suggested that I have been unsympathetic, or that I have not throughout been genuinely anxious to give all the help I can to the improvement of good relations and to the solution of India's political problems. If therefore in the present instance I am unable to accept your proposals, it is not from any lack of anxiety to see the atmosphere improved. But on me there rests a very definite and specific obligation, and the same obligation rests on my Government. It is the duty of both of us to ensure peace and good order in this country; to see that India is defended against Japanese and other Axis aggression; and to make certain that nothing is allowed to happen that would further the interests of the enemy, interfere with the war effort of the United Nations, or create internal strife and tumult. So long as that is our obligation, so long as the Congress policy remains what it is, there can be no question of any alteration in our attitude towards the Congress. I have already pointed out that neither from Mr. Gandhi nor from the Congress is there, or has there been, any suggestion of a change of mind or heart. They had the opportunity and have the opportunity still to abandon that policy. With every respect for your good intentions and your anxiety to see a happy solution, I cannot agree to give special facilities such as you ask for contact with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders while conditions remain as I have described them.

If on the other hand Mr. Gandhi is prepared to repudiate in full the Congress Resolution of last August, to condemn equally those incitements to violence which are represented by his references to "open rebellion", his advice to Congress followers to "do or die", the statement that with the removal of the leaders the rank and file must judge for themselves, and the like; if in addition he and the Congress Party are prepared to give assurances acceptable to Government for the future, then the matter can be considered further. But till then, and while the Congress attitude remains unchanged, Government's first duty is to the people of India, and that duty it intends to discharge. It is not to be deflected from that duty by suggestions, ill-founded as I believe them to be, that by doing its duty it will add to bitterness and ill-feeling. I do not believe that to be the case. But even if it were, that is the price that Government must pay for discharging its responsibilities to the people of India, and I feel certain myself that the people of India appreciate fully the dangerous and sinister character of the Congress campaign of last year—from which such great sections of them stood wholly aloof—and the threat which that campaign represented and would represent again if it were revived, to the safety and tranquillity of this country.

I would add only one word more. You speak of the importance of a National Government. I quite agree with you, and my endeavours during the time that I have been here have been devoted to forming at the Centre a Government as representative and as broadly based as can be found in present circumstances in India. But the fact that you suggest that it is only if you are permitted to consult Mr. Gandhi that a genuine National Government can be formed shows that so far from realising the true character of a National Government, you contemplate that that Government should be nominated with the approval of a single political leader acting independently of other parties and other leaders in this country. Not on these lines is progress to be made. No National Government can properly be so described unless, as in the United Kingdom, it is fully representative of all parties and sections of the people, based on their ready co-operation with Government and with one another, united in the prosecution of the war for the objectives of the United Nations, of such a character that its establishment soothes instead of aggravating controversy. The essential preliminary to that is that agreement between parties, communities and interests which I have been so anxious to foster, but to which the excessive claims and the totalitarian ambitions of the Congress and its leaders have been so consistent an obstacle in the past."

56. "FAITHFUL GATEKEEPERS"

April 2,
1943

Lord Linlithgow's reply to the address from the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar on April 2, 1943 :—

"It is a great pleasure to me to visit the North-West Frontier Province again. I deeply appreciate the warmth of the welcome that my wife and I have received in Peshawar and the cordial terms of the address from the leading gentlemen of the Province, representative of all districts of the Frontier, that you, Sir, have been good enough to read to me today.

The threat of war has happily not approached the North-West Frontier Province. But the importance of the Province remains as great as ever. It is still one of the great gateways to India, and Government still look to you to be their faithful gatekeepers. In these troubled and difficult times, the stability of the districts and the agencies alike—for both are equally important parts of the whole, has been to me a matter for great satisfaction. And when, last autumn, unwise leadership led so many to participate in outrages and disorders which disturbed the peace of India, and did such harm to her great name, the commonsense and the wisdom of the leaders of this Province preserved harmony and order in this most important area. I warmly congratulate you, gentlemen, on the record of the North-West Frontier Province during those anxious days.

I have watched with admiration the contribution which the North-West Frontier Province has made to the war effort. For long it has been one of the great recruiting grounds of India. That reputation has been well maintained during the war, and particularly by the districts of Hazara and Kohat. And the contribution of the Province has been not merely in terms of manpower. Most generous help has been given to all good causes; loans and subscriptions for war purposes have had every assistance from the North-West Frontier Province. And in the organisation of supplies of dried fruit and meat, on a very large scale, the Province has made another important contribution to the war effort.

Thank you most warmly for the kind things which you have been good enough to say about my wife and myself. We do deeply appreciate them, and we are only sorry to think that this is likely to be the last time that we will see the North-West Frontier Province. I would like on behalf of my wife to say how great a pleasure it was to her to visit last year the admirable tuberculosis sanatorium at Dadar, and to see the good work that is being done there in a matter of such vital importance to the health and welfare of the Province. You may be certain of the continued interests of both of us in the years to come in the happiness and the welfare of the people of the Frontier.

I thank you again sincerely for your good wishes and for your welcome. I look forward greatly to my tours in the Province during the next few days and to renewing old contacts and meeting old friends again."

57. FINAL VICTORY IN AFRICA

May 13,
1943

Broadcasting to India on the Allied victory in North Africa, Lord Linlithgow rejoices that "our famous 4th Indian Division was in at the kill" and recalls the part played by Indian troops in Field-Marshal Wavell's great campaigns and in General Auchinleck's splendid last stand that saved Egypt. He pays a tribute to all heroes of the Tunisian campaign, "not only to British and Indian troops but to our gallant American companions-in-arms, to the renascent might of France and to the splendid formations from the Dominions." But, from our rejoicings we must only derive fresh strength to go forward and win final victory, he warns. Text of the broadcast on May 13, 1943 :

"The labour and the sweat and the sacrifices of nearly four years of campaigning in North Africa have now been crowned with magnificent and final victory. The African Continent has been cleansed and great forces of the enemy have been captured or utterly destroyed.

That great strategic highway, the Mediterranean, has been opened and along the length of its southern littoral stand division upon division of French, American, British, Dominion and Indian troops, all flushed with victory, all brothers in arms, whose mutual confidence has been tried in the test of battle, all eager for the next move forward and filled with an implacable resolve to destroy root and branch the foul growth of Nazism that has cast its deadly shade over the length and breadth of Continental Europe.

These troops have seen the superb performances of our air forces over Africa and they rightly believe that in the great battles to come they will have air support of a quality and strength that the Axis cannot hope to equal. They have witnessed in the Mediterranean the matchless skill and gallantry of our navies and mercantile marine, and they know their people at home in many parts of the world are praying for their success and safety, longing for an early end to this world crusade, but ready to endure privation and hardship for months and indeed for years if necessary, till the victory is complete and our troops are in Berlin itself.

This great deed of arms in North Africa clearly marks the end of a stage in the war and my colleagues and I think it is right we in India should celebrate our success. There will, therefore, be a public holiday on Friday, May 21, when 'Tunisia Day' will be celebrated, and I hope there will be public rejoicings throughout India on that day.

We shall then pay tribute, richly deserved as it is, to the heroes of the Tunisian campaign, not only to British and Indian troops but to our gallant American companions in arms, to the renascent might of France, and to the splendid formations from the Dominions. We shall rejoice that our famous 4th Indian Division was in at the kill. But there are many troops not now in Tunisia who won fame in Africa in 1940, 1941 and 1942, and it would be base ingratitude to forget the part that Indian troops played in Field-Marshal Wavell's great campaigns and in General Auchinleck's splendid last stand that saved Egypt.

It has been the joint endeavour of all troops engaged since the beginning of the African campaign that has made possible the final victory which we are now to celebrate.

Again, the fighting forces would be the last to claim that the credit for victory is their alone. We have been through great stress in India, we have had to resist civil commotion, and only a year ago we had to face the possibility of invasion both from the East and from the West ; indeed, the most direct and immediate benefit to India from the African victory is the removal of a deadly threat to her own western approaches. We have had great anxieties over our food supplies—and in spite of all our difficulties it has been essential that our war effort should go on and increase.

There are tens of thousands of men and women, police, railway staffs, civic guards, factory hands, doctors, nurses, engineers and countless others to whom is due their share of each victory we win.

India has been a vast base for our African operations, a base from which essential supplies in huge quantities have been sent first to buttress our defence and then to rush and overwhelm the enemy. I hope the National War Front which represents the citizen's will to win this war will in its celebrations stress the civilian share in the victory and also rebuke those few who are absorbed at present in purely selfish schemes of profiteering.

But self-congratulation in the middle of a war is a dangerous indulgence and I want to warn you tonight against the slightest tendency to believe that the end is in sight.

Germany is still a tremendously powerful nation and may yet be able not only to deal heavy blows against our supremely gallant allies, the Russians, but also to offer strong resistance to any invading armies in the West. And after our foot has been planted firmly on the Nazi's neck and his overweening pride is humbled in the dust, we have still to destroy the menace of Japan.

The Japanese are in essentials a barbarous mediæval race with no true culture and certainly no instincts of mercy. They are fanatical and dedicated to what they are pleased to believe is a national mission. They have captured valuable territories and bases and have had time to consolidate them. The force that we shall in due course bring against them will certainly overwhelm them, but quick results, I warn you plainly, will not be possible.

I have just returned from a visit to our troops on the Eastern frontier who have had to work hard and suffer many hardships to make India safe from invasion. They are in splendid heart and a great deal has been achieved in that area, but no one makes the mistake of underestimating the Jap as an enemy. Defeat him utterly we will. The Americans, the Chinese and we ourselves have made up our minds about that, and, indeed, self-preservation demands it. If there are two poisonous snakes in your room and you go to great trouble to kill one it is hardly commonsense to relax before the other reptile is destroyed. The Jap stands for the same thing as the German. Though we beat the

German into the dust, a war that fails to mete out to Japan the punishment she richly deserves will be fought in vain, and a peace that left in Japanese hands one square mile of stolen territory would be fatal to the future of human happiness and human freedom not only in the East but over the whole expanse of the world.

Forgive me then if I remind you in this hour of triumph, which we do well to celebrate, that final victory is not yet and that we must derive from our rejoicings not a spurious confidence that the war is won, but fresh strength to go forward and win it.

Good-night : and to all our United Nations' forces by sea, land and air, I say 'good hunting.' "

58. LAST ADDRESS TO LEGISLATURE

Thanking them, and through them India, for "consistent, ungrudging and invaluable support through so many dark days and so many critical situations", Lord Linlithgow in his last address to the Houses of the Central Legislature on August 2, 1943, paid "a tribute to the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or the Indian States ; to the confidence, enthusiasm and courage which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war, and to the cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations and hardships inseparable from it. Theirs has been a great achievement on the Home Front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration".

Aug. 2,
1943

All the more, therefore, His Excellency regretted that when in so many ways India's stature had been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war. "We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us."

As the war had gone on, Lord Linlithgow had felt with increasing force that the federal scheme, for all the imperfections that it might have contained, would have solved the bulk of India's problems had it been possible to bring it into being.

Pointing to the extinction of India's external public debt and to the change in her international position from a debtor to a creditor's status, which was bound to have a profound influence on the course and character of India's international trade in the future, Lord Linlithgow suggested that this was a subject which might well engage the careful attention and study of Indian economists and research workers. His Excellency himself anticipated the most far-reaching effects of the change upon the structure of India's home economy.

He expressed his Government's determination to do everything in their power to stabilise economic conditions at tolerable levels during the war.

In a word of "warm thanks" to the Indian Press, Lord Linlithgow said that he remained "deeply grateful to this great institution for its fairness, its eager anxiety to serve the public : its concern to observe, and if

possible to improve the best traditions of journalism. And I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press."

"Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to me to meet you again today, though I am sorry that it should be for the last time. You and I have been through difficult times together, and I shall always remember with gratitude the help and consideration that, through 7½ years of my Viceroyalty, I have had from the Central Legislature ; and the guidance that its members have given me on so many critical issues. It is a happiness for me to think that if we have been through bad days together in the earlier years of the war, I should be leaving India at a time when the skies are beginning to brighten ; when the success of the Allied arms in so many fields is becoming increasingly manifest ; and when we are encouraged by the fall of one of the greatest of the Axis leaders, and by the collapse of a system which was responsible for bringing Italy into the war against us.

The seven and a half years of my Viceroyalty have lain in momentous times. Through the whole period we have been faced by political issues of the first importance. For the last four years there has been the dominating need to concentrate on India's defence against hostile attack ; on the expansion and the training of our armed forces, whether Naval, Military or Air ; on the organising of our war effort in terms of men, of money and of supplies. India's response to every call made upon her throughout the war has been magnificent. She may well be proud of the superb contribution that she has made to the victories of the Allies, and to the triumph of the United Nations.

Gentlemen, I do not propose today to weary you with any lengthy or detailed review of the great developments that have taken place in India in so many fields since I assumed office. The fate would be a very long one. Rather would I propose to speak of India's war effort, to touch very briefly on certain major problems which are of immediate concern to all of us today, and in particular food, inflation, post-war planning ; to say a word about the political situation, and in taking leave of you to thank you, and through you India, for consistent, ungrudging and invaluable support through so many dark days and so many critical situations.

When the war began India's armed forces were designed neither in numbers nor in equipment to bear the direct shock of attack of the large, highly trained and well-equipped forces at the disposal of the Axis powers. But, with the full knowledge that the safety of India lay in the defence of its outer bastions, we sent overseas what troops we could spare. Experience has more than justified our decision. Today we can feel that, save for sporadic and ineffective air raids, India has been spared the horrors of war as, God willing, she will continue so to be.

Our armed forces today total two million men. Naval personnel has increased ten-fold. The Indian Air Force is expanding rapidly into a formidable weapon. That great total has been reached by

voluntary recruitment, recruitment too from a wider variety of sources than ever before. The equipment and the training of these large masses of men has been an immense task, all the more so given the need to keep pace with new arms and new methods ; to create new formations—I need only mention the Indian Armoured Corps, the Corps of Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Indian Army Medical Corps ;—to bring into being the formations of airborne troops, and of airborne surgical units, which have been so successfully developed in this country. In the air the Indian Air Force has expanded from the single squadron that was all its strength when I first came to India to ten Indian squadrons, fully equipped with modern aircraft. The essential, but highly complex ground organisation required by a national air force to provide its own maintenance and training units is rapidly being perfected. Its pilots have done admirable work in Europe : the Indian Squadron which took part in the Burma campaign has rightly won the highest praise. And the work of expansion and development goes on apace.

The Indian Navy has steadily grown through the whole of this period. There have been great and rapid increases in personnel, in ship construction, in shore establishments, in the development of specialist schools, and of specialist training. And recruitment has been extended to areas that never in the past sent men to serve at sea. The actions fought against Japanese aircraft by the "Sutlej" and the "Jumna" ; the superb fight of the "Bengal" against surface raiders, have shown the fighting quality of the Royal Indian Navy. And our ships have been in action not only in Indian waters, but in the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, and, in the last few days, in the invasion of Sicily.

The fighting record of the Indian Army is known to you all. Indian troops played a glorious part in the North and East African campaigns. Their superb fighting qualities, their courage, determination, discipline and training have been demonstrated time and again in the campaigns that have resulted in the overthrow of the Italian empire in Africa. The great victory of the 8th Army, in which the 4th Indian Division added still further honours to what was already an imperishable fame, is in the minds of all of us. In the Far East, in Burma, and in Singapore our troops faced, like their comrades from the other parts of the British Commonwealth, superior forces ; and they fought a series of delaying actions in a type of warfare that makes the highest demand on the quality of troops. Those actions, fought with stubborn courage against grievous odds, gave India time to perfect her own defences against invasion. And the experience gained in the difficult and exhausting jungle warfare in which we have recently been engaged will be put to good use when the time comes for that full dress attack upon the Japanese to which we all look forward. The exploits of Brigadier Wingate's mixed force of Indian, British, Gurkha, and Burmese troops, have struck the imagination of the world, and have shown what good soldiering, discipline, and brotherhood in arms can achieve under conditions peculiarly favourable to the enemy.

The picture I have painted is but a pale reflection of the faith, the courage and the endurance of tens of thousands of humble men ; courage that has won for the Indian Army no less than six awards of the Victoria Cross. No words of mine can express our thanks to them for what they have achieved, to the Princes and people of India, who have poured out their treasures of money and labour and of precious lives in the allied cause. But this I know,—whatever may be the tasks which lie ahead ; however long and arduous the road we still have to traverse, that faith, that courage, that sacrifice will lead to victory.

Since I last addressed you, Gentlemen, the relations of my Government with the foreign States on India's frontiers have, I am glad to say, remained cordial. Indian troops have served with distinction in Persia. The Government of Afghanistan have well upheld their policy of neutrality as against all belligerents and have not suffered the Axis influences due to the presence of enemy Legations in their capital to disturb the common peace of the Indo-Afghan frontier. The tribes of the North-West Frontier have throughout the war maintained the peace, and I was glad on my recent visit to that famous region to be able to recognise their service to the common end by a permanent enhancement of the allowances of one of the leading tribes, the Orakzais. Of the unstinted help which the cause of the United Nations as a whole and India in particular has received from our well-tried and trusted friends, the Prime Minister and the Government of Nepal, I cannot speak in terms of too high gratitude. The Gurkha soldiers of the Indian Army continue to maintain the highest traditions of their service. Their bravery and hardihood have contributed in no small degree to the security of India throughout the war, and I need not remind you that the Nepalese Government's own regiments remain in India for the war to assist us in building up our common strength. The relations of India with our great Ally, the Republic of China, have been drawn closer than ever before in history. The mutual esteem and knowledge won during the visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in February 1942 has broadened to an understanding which bodes well for the future relations of our countries. The presence, which we have so warmly welcomed, of American and Chinese Missions in our midst ; the comradeship in the common task and on our own soil with the gallant forces of our American and Chinese allies all contribute most materially to cordial relations and international good fellowship.

Recent legislation in South Africa affecting the status of Indians in that country has been a matter of profound regret to my Government and the situation which results from it is under active consideration.

Many of the essential nation-building activities are, under the present constitution, the responsibility primarily or wholly of the Provinces. But I have been anxious, during the time I have spent here, to ensure that the Centre should give every help that it properly can in regard to them, and there is much to show in the way of achievement. The revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education ; the establishment of the Central Board of Health ; the lavish grant

made before the war from central revenues for Rural Development; the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research the establishment of which, as I am proud to recall, was recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which I had the honour to preside, and which has proved itself so elastic and effective an instrument for promoting technical progress ; the institution of the All-India Cattle Show Society, which has done so much to encourage the most important matter of care and breeding of cattle throughout the country; the active prosecution of nutritional research ; the great campaign against tuberculosis, organised by my wife, which has had so striking a response from all over India—these are all examples of the numerous activities in the nation-building field which have been of concern to my Government and to myself during the time that I have been here. India has reason, too, to be proud of the work that has been done in Animal Husbandry, in Dairy Research, by the Agricultural Marketing Department, by the Forest Service, and by the Survey of India. The war inevitably has interfered with certain of our plans for the development of many of these most important activities. But the war has also shown their vital significance and we have good reason to be thankful that so much had been done in the way of preparation before hostilities began.

I may be forgiven for touching on one matter which, though it is of immediate local interest to the Central Legislature, is of concern to the country as a whole. When I assumed office in 1936 I determined that during my tenure of the Viceroyalty I would do everything in my power to make Delhi worthy of its place as the capital city of India. Today, I am glad to think that that ambition has been so largely realised. Delhi is a model so far as the anti-malaria campaign, up-to-date arrangements for the disposal of sewage, the active work of an energetic and soundly-based Improvement Trust, the development of open spaces and of amenities, are concerned. Those amenities and the layout of the capital city have inevitably suffered owing to war conditions. But it is the policy of my Government, on the conclusion of the war, to remove without delay the temporary buildings that war has rendered necessary, and to restore the appearance of the Capital of India to the high level which we had been able to achieve for it.

I would like to say one word about the transport situation, and the position of the Railways in particular. The vital importance of an efficient and adequate transport system, both for the war effort and for the maintenance of civil life, has been brought very sharply home to us in these last few years. The Railways are working under very great strain. Great strain because of shortage of certain materials in war-time ; because of the immense burdens placed on the staff by war conditions. We owe a real debt to the Railway staff for the contribution they have made, and the excellent work they have done in circumstances sometimes of much difficulty. My Government are fully alive to the importance of co-ordinating transport by road, rail, and river, and no pains are being spared to turn to the best use possible any additional capacity that can be made available, and to strike a just balance between military and essential civil needs.

Activities in the field of war supplies have expanded enormously since I last addressed you. The value of orders handled by the Supply Department increased steadily from 85 crores in the first 16 months of the war, to 118 crores in 1941, 223 crores in 1942 and to 142 crores for the first five months of the present year. Nor is this the whole tale of India's effort in the field of supply. For the figures which I have given take no account of the orders which the Supply Department placed overseas, the orders placed in India for war purposes through trade channels, or the value of the finished output of the Ordnance Factories. The total value of India's contribution to war supplies is thereby immeasurably increased.

In order to deal with this growing mass of war orders the capacity of Indian industry has been greatly expanded both by the carrying out of carefully considered Government schemes for the establishment of new factories or the expansion of existing ones, and by the operation of private enterprise. In particular the Chatfield and Ministry of Supply Mission Projects for new Ordnance Factories and expansion of the old ones are now either completed or nearly complete. I may also mention the great expansions in the steel industry, in the manufacture of machine tools, in the chemical industry, and in the capacity of the rubber manufacturing industry, especially for making tyres.

Those results have not been easy to achieve in the face of the difficulties, known to all of you, which arose and still arise from the growing claims on the shipping resources of the Allies, from the closure of certain sources of raw material by the tide of Japanese aggression, and from the pressure on India's internal transport system arising from the greatly increased burden of war production and military movements. In solving these difficulties, and in maintaining its war effort despite them, India has received and is receiving the greatest help from the other allied nations, especially from His Majesty's Government and from the United States of America. The Technical Mission which our American Allies sent us last year, and the Lease-Lend Mission now with us, have been of the greatest assistance to us. We have lately had a Joint Anglo-American Steel Mission which gave valuable advice and help in connection with the production and distribution of steel. And I must pay a cordial tribute to the admirable work of the Eastern Group Supply Council, itself the outcome of the Eastern Group Conference for the initiation of which India was so largely responsible, and which did such invaluable work.

This vast expansion in the field of war production has not been achieved without material sacrifice of the goods ordinarily available to the agriculturist and the townsman. I will refer later to certain aspects of that problem. But I am glad to think that many of the industries engaged in the manufacture of vital war supplies are now better equipped to produce goods for ordinary internal consumption than they were before; the experience gained in manufacture under the stress of war adds materially to our knowledge of modern skill and technique; and we are extracting and putting to use in India more and more of our own raw materials. Over and above this, realising the

importance of providing for essential civil needs, we are now endeavouring to release for civil consumption a larger share of the industrial output of our own resources. The steps we have already taken in this direction will be steadily pursued, consistently with our responsibility for supplying the Armed Forces in India.

For the present, and for some time to come, our energies must be devoted to exploiting all available resources for the waging of war. But a moment will arrive when this process must be reversed and our efforts directed again towards the normal activities of peace, and the use and development of those resources for the rehabilitation of our economy, and the maintenance and—wherever possible—the improvement of the standards of living of our people.

Post-war reconstruction is a phrase familiar today in every continent. But the nature of this reconstruction must depend upon local conditions and the vicissitudes of battle.

In some countries the rebuilding of the bomb-shattered homes of the people, and of the factories in which they earn their livelihood, must be the first stage of recovery. Then again a nation the greater part of whose adult population of both sexes has been conscripted into the fighting services, or war industry, has to face problems vastly different, at least in degree, from those which confront us here in India where, despite the magnitude of our war effort, large sections of the population still pursue their customary avocations more or less undisturbed by the tides of war, save in so far as changes in the price level may have affected their lot for better or for worse. Our own problems in this field, vital though they are, are of a different order. War has brought to India a marked and significant increase in industrial activity, and an even more important increment in the number of persons skilled in mechanical and industrial work of all kinds. Evidently the problem is to carry forward after the war as much as we may of this enhanced industrial activity, transmuted betimes from its present warlike shape into forms capable of producing the needs of a world at peace. Certain of our industries, some of them highly important, have come through the past four years with few changes of a technical character, and for such the problems to be solved will be mainly of a commercial character.

Closely linked with industrial expansion are the problems of agricultural improvement. The best hope of permanent progress, whether in town or countryside, lies in the maintenance of a sound balance between field and factory. For the farmer, a steady and profitable market for his own produce and the opportunity to buy the products of the factory at reasonable prices : for the factory, a copious supply of raw material and a vast market for the finished product. The careful fostering of this natural, healthy and resilient partnership which is the foundation of our economic strength, and the firm base or platform from which we may develop our overseas trade, must be the first care of governments and of all concerned with industry or with agriculture. Agriculture including agricultural education and research and animal husbandry, is as I have already reminded you, a provincial

subject. So also is irrigation. But in so far as it lies within the power and within the proper field of my Government to contribute toward agricultural improvement, they are most anxious to do their utmost in that direction.

The desire for improvement, agricultural and industrial, has evidently received a marked stimulus from the circumstances of war. This manifestation will certainly derive a fresh and powerful impulse by the demobilisation in due time of the great armies upon whose valour India at present depends for her security. Many of our soldiers have become mechanically-minded as a result of their training and some may well look to industry for a livelihood in the days of peace. But the greater number will wish to return to the land. Many of those men have seen the world beyond these shores. They will wish to enjoy the best that the business of farming can provide, and they will be found receptive of new ideas and improved practices. Their return to their villages offers a unique opportunity to press forward with agricultural improvement and rural betterment. These two purposes are bound indissolubly together. "Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." So wrote the Agricultural Commission in 1928, and all that I have seen or learned since that time confirms the correctness of that opinion.

My Government are fully alive to the urgency and the vital importance of these issues. For some considerable time past they have closely concerned with the essential business of post-war planning. They realise the necessity of being well prepared in advance for the questions that will face India, like the rest of the world, on the termination of hostilities. You may be certain, Gentlemen, that they will spare no effort to clear the ground and to plan wisely for the future, and that their deliberations will be informed by the anxious desire to assist in all those matters to which I have just referred, even where the function is not primarily theirs.

The war has brought great industrial and commercial prosperity to India. But it has laid grievous burdens on the common man and woman in this country in the procurement of their daily needs. And the disabilities which war must bring to the civil population of any belligerent country have in India been greatly accentuated by the anti-social activities of individuals who have misused conditions of scarcity, artificially created in the case of some commodities, for their own profit. During the last few months, second only to the problem of how to feed the inhabitant of this country has come the problem of how to clothe him at a cost within his means. It was therefore to the problem of cloth that the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies, which I constituted in April last, first devoted its attention. Thanks to public support, thanks also to the co-operation of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry, a scheme of control was launched on the 17th June which is being worked by Government and the industry in a friendly spirit. The Indian States are also in line with us, and I welcome this opportunity of acknowledging the co-operation. The prices of cloth of all kinds have fallen, not only in the wholesale,

but also in the retail markets. In some of the retail markets they have fallen by more than 40 per cent. Cloth which has been hoarded is coming into the market; and under the new scheme for Standard or Utility cloth my Government have arranged the procurement of this at the rate of 150 million yards per month, to be distributed, on a basis of population, among all the Provinces and States of India till a total of 2,000 million yards has been reached. It is hoped that cloth now coming out of hoards, and Standard Cloth, will fill the breach while the Control gradually establishes itself over the whole field of Cotton Textiles with, as a result, increased production and a substantial reduction in prices below present levels. When that stage is reached it will not be necessary to continue the Standard Cloth Scheme.

But cloth is not the only commodity in regard to which advantage has been taken—and unmercifully taken—of the consumer in India by unscrupulous men. Over practically the whole range of consumers' goods, which are so necessary in the day-to-day life of the people, the two-fold blight of exorbitant prices and inequitable distribution has fallen. Measures are now well under way which will I hope, before many months have passed, bring about improvement in this respect. These measures are aimed not only at hitting the hoarder and the profiteer, but also at making consumers' goods of the commoner varieties available in greater quantities to the people of this country.

Probably the most grave and insistent problem which faces my Government today is that of ensuring an adequate distribution of foodstuffs throughout India. Early in July a Conference fully representative of the Provinces and the Indian States, discussed in close detail with my Government the difficulties of the past and plans for the immediate future. My Government have accepted the conclusions of the Conference, and they are being implemented. As I speak, an expert planning committee is at work on the evolution of a long term food policy, and its Report is expected in the immediate future. I cannot anticipate its recommendations. Nor do I wish to dwell overmuch on the past. But I would like briefly to recall to you some of the difficulties which have had to be faced during the past four years and to state in broad outline the essentials, as I see them, for the success of any future policy.

Certain limiting factors have to be recognised, even in normal times, when considering the economy of food production and distribution in India. The size of the country, with its demands on transport; a total production of foodgrains only just sufficient in wheat and less than sufficient in rice, made up of the small margins of millions of small farmers; the variety and at the same time the rigidity of local diet habits; the administrative divisions throughout the country. In normal times, these factors do not give rise to any great difficulty, for the normal operations of trade can ordinarily be relied upon to satisfy all requirements and to come effectively to the rescue, without official intervention, if for any reason local scarcity should occur. But war throws normal trade movements out of gear. Imports are restricted or cut off; transport is limited; there is a bullish tendency in the markets; prices rise and profits are high; the producer or distributor

hoards for gain or consumes more of his produce; the consumer hoards from fear.

In such circumstances it is the duty of Government to step in and regulate the operations of trade so as to secure economy and fair distribution. In the United Kingdom great success has been achieved by drastic measures involving legal sanctions and the most detailed interference with private lives and private enterprise, but made effective largely by the willing co-operation of the people. In India our problem has been less compact and uniform, and control in consequence more difficult to impose. The series of Price Control Conferences instituted as soon as war broke out proved most valuable for the exchange of ideas and experience, and made recommendations which were acted on by Government. But you will recall that for the first two years of the war there was no great demand for controls. A moderate rise in prices after a lean period was welcomed. It is only since the entry of Japan into the war, and the loss of imports from Malaya and Burma, that the problem of supplies and prices has assumed serious proportions in India. Since then Governments throughout the country have had to adapt their methods to a rapidly developing situation, and to counter the cupidity and lack of confidence that have unhappily shown themselves in so many areas.

The Grow More Food campaign has led to an immense increase in the area under food crops, and a vastly-increased production of foodgrains. It is being urged on with the utmost vigour. Financial aid of well over a crore and a half of rupees has been made available from central revenues, and every possible help has been given to Provincial Governments and to the Indian States by way of technical advice. You may be certain, Gentlemen, that no pains are being, or will be, spared to get the very maximum of output that we possibly can.

To strike at the root of the causes of our difficulties which I have just mentioned my Government decided, early in this year, to remove the control price of wheat, and to import wheat from Australia. They also devised a scheme for the distribution under central control of surplus foodgrains to deficit areas. For various reasons this scheme appeared likely, at first, to fall short of the success that was hoped for. But, drastically modified in the light of experience, it remains in being. And it will hold the field as an "austerity" plan, until, having secured physical control of all available surpluses of foodgrains, administrations throughout India are in a position to control their distribution, through rationing or otherwise.

That task is no light one. But it is vital that it should be successfully performed. And full and willing co-operation by every Government and every individual is essential if its achievement is to be ensured.

The policy behind it will be a policy based on the considered views of representatives of every part of India, and I would most earnestly appeal today to all concerned to help in giving effect to it. To the solution of the common problem, to the easing of the hardships of the

poor, and the difficulties of the deficit areas in particular, there is an obligation on every one of us to lend our influence, our example, and our ready support. I am confident that in appealing for that general co-operation, and for the spirit of self-sacrifice, in a matter that touches every man and woman in this country, I shall not do so in vain.

One of the main problems which has to be faced by a country at war is the control of inflationary tendencies. In the switch over from a peace economy to a war economy the mounting scale of Government expenditure inevitably increases the volume of incomes, while the goods and services available for civilian consumption inevitably contract. To accentuate the resultant loss of equilibrium between free purchasing power and the opportunities for its use, the possibilities of import become gravely restricted by the scarcity of shipping and reduced transport facilities. In any country a situation of this kind calls for the maximum effort of vigilance and control, if chaos is to be avoided. In India there are various factors, notably the magnitude of the country and the exiguous scale of administrative services in relation to a huge and largely uninstructed population, which render close controls peculiarly difficult. The position first began to deteriorate sharply when the consequences of the war with Japan became palpable, in the latter half of 1942. By the spring of this year there were many signs of widespread hoarding and profiteering and of the emergence of a spirit of reckless speculation which gave a vicious stimulus to the factors making for a general rise in prices. The course of prices in consequence took an alarming upward turn, and it became clear that drastic action was called for and in every sphere of Government authority if this disastrous tendency was to be checked and reversed.

The Government of India are determined to do everything in their power to achieve this object and to stabilise economic conditions at tolerable levels. The drive against inflation is being pursued simultaneously in the monetary and the commodity fields. On the one hand an intensive effort is being directed to the mopping up of surplus purchasing power by taxation and borrowing, whether Central or Provincial, including a country-wide savings drive, and the Indian States have also been urged to co-operate in this programme for the benefit of the whole country. I am glad in that connection to be able to tell you, Gentlemen, that during the six weeks ending on 17th July, no less than 50 crores of rupees were invested, including 12½ crores by conversion from the 4 per cent. 1943 bonds—a most encouraging and heartening achievement. On the other hand, various forms of commodity control have been adopted, the most important, because of its effect on the cost of living, being the cloth and yarn control scheme to which I have already referred.

I have already spoken too of our efforts to deal with the various aspects of the food problem, which of course has an enormously important bearing on the tendencies we are determined to bring under control. The Government of India are also resolved to check speculation and profiteering in every sphere which affects the life of the nation, and to repress and penalize all cognate anti-social activity. I am glad

to say that the measures already taken are beginning to have a most salutary effect. Not only has the vicious upward trend been checked, but several important indices have moved sharply downwards, with a beneficial effect on the whole price-structure. But there is no room for complacency, and we do not delude ourselves that this battle is over. On the contrary the campaign has only begun and we are determined to maintain the pressure and to fight relentlessly on every part of the anti-inflationary front. The stake is nothing less than the economic safety of the country ; it demands the co-operation of all of us, and no effort can be relaxed until this insidious danger has been removed.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to enlarge on the more obvious aspects of the impact of the war upon India's economy. The imperious needs of the emergency have, as might be expected, called forth a tremendous intensification and diversification of India's industrial activity. This has involved the fullest use of our resources of raw materials, labour, transport and productive capacity. It has led to many new efforts in fields hitherto hardly explored and to expanding schemes for the training of personnel. All this would in itself have produced a notable transformation of India's economic outlook. But there has in addition supervened a factor which in my opinion is bound to have the greatest significance for India's economic future. It is by now a familiar fact that the war has led not only to the extinction of India's external public debt but to a change in her international position from a debtor to a creditor status. This fact is bound to have a profound influence on the course and character of India's international trade in future. I would suggest that this is a subject which might well engage the careful attention and study of Indian economists and research workers. For I am convinced that it is a sphere in which there cannot fail to be scope for constructive thinking. It is not merely the outward aspect of our foreign trade which must inevitably be transformed, but I would anticipate the most far-reaching effects upon the structure of India's whole economy. When it is remembered that India's export trade in the past rested largely upon the necessity of making remittances for the service of her overseas debt, that henceforth not only will this factor be absent but on the contrary India will have to accommodate an excess of imports in order to receive the payments due to her, it will be realised that the change which has occurred is one of the deepest significance.

I turn now to the political field. As Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee I had been most closely associated with the discussions leading up to the Act of 1935. I came out here in 1936 following on the passing of that Act. My object, when I accepted this great responsibility, was in the first place to see Provincial Autonomy introduced, and to give it every help in my power to work smoothly and successfully. In the second place, to secure the introduction of Federation. I was confident that in no way could the interests of India's constitutional development or the achievement of all her aspirations better be forwarded than by these two successive stages that were contemplated in the constitution Act of 1935. Nothing has happened since 1935 to shake me in that view.

The scheme of Provincial Autonomy has been tested by experience now over many years. It is a workable scheme and a sound scheme. Today it is in operation in six Provinces out of eleven. Where it is not in operation, that is because those to whom it gave great power, great authority and great responsibility have not been willing to carry that responsibility. That there may be difficulties from time to time, that the machine may fail under certain stresses can surprise no one with experience of public life. But taking it all in all, the scheme has fully justified itself. I can think of no way in which, consistently with safeguarding the rights and the legitimate claims of all parties, the devolution of power to popularly elected Ministers, supported by a majority in the Legislature, and willing to carry the burdens of the time, could better have been made.

At the Centre, as I have often said in recent years, I have felt with increasing force as the war has gone on, that the federal scheme, for all the imperfections that it may have contained, would have solved the bulk of India's problems had it been possible to bring it into being. No scheme is perfect : no scheme will satisfy everyone ; every scheme admits of being improved on by experience. And I know well that on various grounds the federal scheme has been the target of attacks. But, as in the case of the provincial scheme, I have no doubt as to its essential soundness. Parties, interests, individuals, all have to be prepared to make some sacrifice when it comes to matters such as this. No one in any modern State can hope to have a hundred per cent. of what he wants or what he thinks he ought to have. Compromise, adjustment, reasonable regard for the legitimate claims of other parties is the only basis on which progress can be made. Federation, had we achieved it, based as it was on the maximum measure of agreement that could be realised when the scheme was framed, would have welded together for matters of common interest the Indian States and British India. It would have secured balanced and reasonable representation of parties and interests at the Centre. It would have achieved the desire of His Majesty's Government to transfer to Indian hands those great powers at the Centre the transfer of which is provided for in the Act of 1935. And India would have participated in the War under the leadership of her own Federal Government, and her prestige and the prestige of that Government would thereby have been enhanced still further for the future.

Well, Gentlemen, the outbreak of the war and the absence of agreement between those concerned in India, made the postponement of Federation at that time inevitable. His Majesty's Government in those circumstances could not, in that way, give the early effect that they desired to their intentions. It was my duty and my happiness in those circumstances to try to find in what other way Indian public opinion, Indian public men, the great parties, could, pending the achievement of a final solution, best and most closely be associated with the government of the country and the management of the war.

If I have not been able to achieve the measure of success I hoped for, I have at any rate during the time of the war been able to bring

into being changes of great significance and far-reaching importance. It is true that I have not been able to persuade the great political parties to take their share in the government of the country. But the Government of India, a body of 7, of whom the majority were officials, has been expanded into a body of 14, 11 of whom are non-officials, and four only (including the Commander-in-Chief) Europeans. Of its broad basis, of the representation it gives to communities and interests, of the quality of its Members, there can be no question whatever. The National Defence Council, a body representative of the Indian States and of British India, has met regularly under my chairmanship since October 1941. It has established its reputation throughout India; it has constituted a most valuable liaison between the Centre, the Provinces of British India and the Indian States, and its importance from the point of view of the war effort has been very real indeed.

In other fields India's international status has been enhanced in a variety of ways. She is represented at Washington and at Chungking. China and the President of the U.S.A. are represented here. For over a year now she has had representation at the War Cabinet. She has been most closely associated with all developments of importance in connection with the war. The splendid work of her fighting men, whether by sea, by land or in the air, has added to her renown throughout the world; the magnitude of her contribution to the war effort of the Allies is known to everyone.

I regret the more that at a time when India's contribution has been so great; when in so many ways her stature has been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war. That there should have been no greater progress is due to no lack of effort, or enthusiasm, or goodwill on the part of His Majesty's Government or of myself. From the very beginning of the war I have done everything that man could do to bring the parties and their leaders together; to remove doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government; to achieve that sufficiency of common agreement among the parties and communities in this country, and that necessary preliminary acceptance of the legitimate claims of all, that must be the pre-condition of any constitutional advance that is worth having or that can hope for permanence. It will always be a sharp disappointment to me that these four years of war should, for all that effort, have seen us no nearer to our goal, and that, as I speak today, these internal divisions, these communal rivalries, that reluctance to place India first and to subordinate sectional ambitions and jealousies to the common interest of the country, should still stand in the way of progress.

As I have said elsewhere, those divisions, that lack of agreement, are due not to the reluctance of His Majesty's Government to transfer power to Indian hands, but to their very readiness to do so. But the fact, the lamentable fact, remains that to the grief of all of us, those divisions exist. Nor, during all that time, has a single constructive proposition—and I deeply regret to say it—been put forward by any Indian party. The whole burden of framing constructive proposals

in relation either to the interim or the final solution has been left to His Majesty's Government and to myself. We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us. The best that we can devise, informed as we are by centuries of experience of Parliamentary Government, has been freely offered. Yet, while one endeavour after another by His Majesty's Government to find a solution, fair to all parties and communities in India and acceptable to India as a whole, has been rejected by one party or the other, not one such practicable alternative proposal has been put forward by any one in this country.

Yet it is India herself, if India wants a change, that must find the solution to this problem. I sometimes think that public interest and discussion in this country has, in the past, centred too much on interim constitutional changes, which, in the nature of things, must be transitory. Such changes cannot be a substitute for a constitution determined by ordinary processes and agreement; processes which cannot be completed under the stress of war. Short cuts can only be a danger alike to present unity and post-war solutions. At the stage now reached the real problem to be faced is the future problem; we must look forward and not backward.

And it is the need for India herself to find the solution that, in all friendliness and sincerity, I would most earnestly commend, Gentlemen, to your consideration today. I have said it before, and I say it again quite plainly, that the path to full and honourable co-operation with the Government of the country has always been open to those who desire it for its own sake. His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy can try to help, as they have tried in the past. But the burden is on India, on her leaders, on the principal elements in her national life. It is the discordance between those principal elements, the lack of trust, the lack of readiness to accept the legitimate claims of the minorities, or of parties, or of interests, that stand in the way. Those are obstacles that only Indians can remove.

And it is most important, and I would most earnestly urge this on you, that if there is to be any progress, Indian public men should without delay start to get together and to clear the way for it. The post-war phase is drawing rapidly nearer. His Majesty's Government, as you will remember, have voiced the hope that on the conclusion of the war Indians themselves may sit round a table and hammer out a constitution having the general support of all the principal elements in India's national life. Is India, are India's leaders, to be found unprepared when the day comes for those discussions? Is it not the course of wisdom to set to work at once, without wasting a day, to try, by discussion among themselves, to find in readiness for those discussions an accommodation of the differences that prevent progress at the moment, and to build a bridge over the profound gulfs that divide party from party and community from community? They alone can do it. The burden is on them, and not on His Majesty's Government.

And the whole field is open to them. If the proposals which His Majesty's Government have at one time or other put forward, in default of any proposals from the Indian leaders, are unacceptable to India as a whole, there is nothing to stop India's leaders from considering and devising an alternative, whatever its nature, or from trying by private negotiation with other parties in this country to secure their support for any such alternative. All I would say—and I say it again as a friend of India, and as one concerned to see her progress in whatever manner is best suited to her national genius and to the interests of all within her borders—is this—that whatever alternative and whatever scheme is devised must take account of practical considerations; must have the general support of all the important elements in India's national life. No scheme, however good it may look on paper, that ignores important elements or interests, that overlooks the essential necessity for substantial agreement inside India as its basis, has any hope of surviving for long. A national Government can be a reality only if it is generally representative, if it has the general support of the major parties and of the people as a whole, if its establishment leads to the assuaging of communal and other bitterness and rivalry, and to the harmonising of all the many divergent points of view that a country such as India, with its great range of climate, of races, its different historical traditions, must always present.

I would like to take this occasion to say a word of warm thanks to the Indian Press for all the help that it has given me during my time in India. Occasions there may have been when there were differences of view on matters connected with the Press; misunderstandings there may have been from time to time. But I remain deeply grateful to this great institution for its fairness; its eager anxiety to serve the public; its concern to observe, and if possible to improve, the best traditions of journalism. And I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press.

In a few weeks now I shall hand over the reins of office to my successor. In Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell India will have as Viceroy one who has proved himself through a long and glorious career one of the great leaders of men in the field; and one of the outstanding soldiers of our time. But you will find in him also, and this I can say from personal experience of two years of close, intimate and most friendly collaboration, an understanding, wise and sagacious statesman; a man of sound political sense and judgment; a leader of courage and tenacity, whose wide human sympathy, whose affection for India and whose profound interest in her problems is well-known. In the difficult days that lie ahead—for the problems of peace are no less exhausting and complex than the problems we have had to face in the war—his ripe experience, his fresh and up-to-date knowledge of India and his sincerity and openness of mind will be of a value to this country that cannot be overstated.

I cannot leave you today, Gentlemen, without in conclusion paying a tribute to the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or the Indian States; to the confidence, enthusiasm and courage

which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war, and to the cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations and hardships inseparable from it. Theirs has been a great achievement on the home front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration.

I would like, too, to say a word of sincere and heartfelt thanks to the personnel of all the Services in this country. To them is due great credit for all that they have done to maintain law and order, to deal with the innumerable problems of administration that war throws up, to grapple with the vital tasks that fall to be discharged by them in the interests of the people of India as a whole. Without their loyal, unfailing, and self-sacrificing public work, the administration of the country could not have been carried on, or India have made the contribution that she has so proudly and so gladly made to the victory of the Allied cause.

Gentlemen, I will keep you no longer. I thank you most warmly for the attention with which you have listened to me today. My best good wishes go to you, both individually, and as a Central Legislature, for the future, and my most cordial gratitude for all the work that I have been privileged to see you perform during my term of office, and for that public spirit that has so consistently marked your conduct of affairs."

59. "I WAS WITH YOUR FATHERS"

"Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the 7½ years that I have held charge as Viceroy than my close association with the armed forces in India", said Lord Linlithgow addressing a parade of British and Indian units at Poona on August 28, 1943.

Aug. 28,
1943

He recalled: "A quarter of a century ago I was with your fathers in another great war, so I know very well how you all feel about your minds." Extracts from the speech:—

"I am very glad to see today, representative detachments from units in the Poona area. Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the seven and a half years that I have held charge as Viceroy than my close association with the armed forces in India. Your efficiency for war and your welfare have been to me matters of abiding interest and concern.

Many of you are serving far from your homes and from your own folk on the fourth year of a world-wide war. A quarter of a century ago I was with your fathers in another great war, so I know very well how you all feel about your minds. I know, too, that in the end you will be immensely proud to have taken part in this tremendous struggle. Many of you were at home in Britain during the fierce German attacks from air upon our cities in 1940. You can testify to the sublime courage with which that formidable onslaught was met and overcome by the men and women of our land. They endured and they triumphed because they felt that the causes for which we are waging this war were worth fighting for.

They will be watching us, those brave and patient people, here in this theatre of war during the months before us and through the battles that must be fought. The cause at stake here is the very plain one, what they struggled for in the streets of our cities and villages throughout the blitz of 1940. It would not be of much use to have beaten the Germans and the Italians if we were unable to settle accounts with the Japanese. I know your patience is being tested now, and I know too how very wearisome can be the time of waiting. I am sure you are keen to be at them and to get done with the job. Well, you will not have very long to wait now, and when the call comes I have every confidence that you will do yourselves high credit and bring fresh renown to the Imperial Arms.

To Indian troops represented on this parade I would say also this : Model your conduct in battle upon the performance of those of your brothers in arms who upon many a hard-fought battle have in this war added new laurels to the great name of their motherland. The safety of this country and its honour are in your care. When the day of battle comes, fight hard !

Meantime the duty of all of you is quite clear. It is to do your utmost, every man in his job, to raise the fighting efficiency of every unit, and the co-operation between units, to the highest possible pitch. Do not allow staleness to creep in. The tide has turned and things everywhere are going well for us. Now is the time to redouble our efforts, and when the opening comes, to go for the ' knock-out '.

Work on weapon drills and tactical exercises for all you are worth. You will be very well repaid for your pains when the days of trial come : that I can promise you. Wherever you go and whatever task you are called upon to perform, I wish you one and all the very best of luck . . . "

60. MUKTESWAR AND IZATNAGAR

Sept. 6,
1943

He could think of nothing likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator than sound livestock improvement which must be based on three major sciences, namely, animal genetics, animal nutrition and animal medicine—all provided for at Mukteswar and Izatnagar, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the staff of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute. He regretted, however, that the war had interrupted greater progress in the work of the institution.

Lord Linlithgow travelled by air to Izatnagar on September 6, 1943, to pay a farewell visit to the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, a large section of which he had opened in 1939.

Speech to the assembled staff :—

" It has been a real pleasure to me to have the opportunity of flying over here today and I am very glad to see you all. I think you all know how deep has been my concern for the advancement of research work in the veterinary field ever since I first made an intensive study of India's needs when I was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. As Viceroy for 7½ years I have watched your progress

with sympathy and interest and I should like to assure you what very high importance I attach to the work which you are doing here.

Your main institute was founded as long ago as 1890 but I can say with certainty that experience has fully justified the setting up of the Izatnagar sub-station in 1913 for the purpose of manufacturing biological products. In 1939 I had the privilege, when the Government of India decided to expand the available facilities for the study of other sciences connected with livestock improvement, of opening the Animal Nutrition Wing here and very valuable work has been done in the new laboratories I opened then.

It is unfortunate that buildings for the Animal Genetics Section and for two new blocks for vaccine production and Wool Research could not be constructed during the war. Many good causes have suffered during these years of strife and India would certainly have been the richer if this expansion of your accommodation had been achieved. At the moment, however, we all rejoice in the extremely encouraging war news and I trust that when we have defeated Germany and Japan it may be found possible to proceed soon with the construction work you need.

Sound livestock improvement must be based on three major sciences, namely, animal genetics, animal nutrition and animal medicine all of which are now provided for at Mukteswar and Izatnagar. If individual research workers play their part I think there is every reason to anticipate in the not too distant future great advances in this subject, advances that will be of lasting importance and I can think of nothing that is likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator and so to India at large. In such advances I have every confidence that Dr. Minett and his expert team will play a distinguished part. . . ."

61. CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF HEALTH

"We are all anxious to see after the war", said Lord Linlithgow in a farewell message to the Central Advisory Board of Health on October 4, 1943, "an era of determined effort to raise the Indian standard of living". The message was read out by the Hon'ble Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh*, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Text of message :—

"When I spoke at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Health in 1937 I expressed the conviction that the Board would serve a useful purpose in providing facilities for discussion of the problems of common interest affecting the health and well-being of the inhabitants of the Provinces and States in India. The reports issued

*The Hon'ble Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh said in the course of his inaugural address :—

"It is my hope before the year 1944 ends to give the country a programme of agricultural development which would aim at providing nourishing food for all, a programme of health and housing aiming at improving living conditions and a programme of education aiming at equipping our whole population with knowledge. It is my hope that if our people are physically fit and mentally alert, there is nothing that can prevent their taking their proper place in the comity of nations, if political and economic integrity of India is maintained."

by the Board during the past five years provide an authoritative basis for the development of health administration in many directions and show that my confidence was justified. It is largely owing to the war and certainly no fault of yours that in many cases effect has not yet been given to your recommendations. We all are anxious to see after the war an era of determined effort to raise the Indian standard of living and I have no doubt that the work of the Board will be of great assistance to provincial Governments in preparing their post-war planning programmes in the public health field.

One of the main questions you have to consider at the present meeting is planning for this post-war development. Health administration, if it is to achieve any substantial results, demands a considered programme, and any attempt to deal piecemeal with the many and varied problems involved can but lead to a dissipation of effort and of financial resources. I would like to emphasise again in that connection the importance of securing that as our towns expand their housing and sanitation schemes are prepared on the right lines. It has been a great pleasure to me to authorise the appointment of the Central Health Survey and Development Committee which has recently been announced and I am convinced that it will produce results of the utmost value. Your work in the past and your deliberations at this meeting will I know assist that Committee in its task.

I am very glad indeed to have had this opportunity before I leave India of conveying to you all my good wishes. I trust and believe that public opinion will become steadily more conscious of the imperative need to spend money and thought on planning for public health. I am sure that the Board will prove equal to its ever widening opportunities and that it will be able to continue to contribute to the solution of the vital problem of public health, on which so largely depends the happiness and well-being of India and of her people. Good-bye and all success to you."

62. "I WAS PROUD OF HIS FRIENDSHIP"

Oct. 14,
1943

Speech in unveiling the bust of His late Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in the Chamber of Princes Hall on October 14, 1943 :—

"YOUR HIGHNESSES,

In spite of the profound feelings of loss and regret which must inevitably pervade this sad prelude to our session I count myself fortunate to be afforded, in response to the kind invitation voiced on Your Highnesses' behalf by your Chancellor, this opportunity to pay, in this Chamber which he loved so well and which has so often resounded to his eloquence, one more tribute to the great personality of Maharaja Sir Ganga Singhji of Bikaner and his outstanding services to the Princely Order.

The occasion when, in March 1941, I had the honour to unveil the effigies of three other distinguished Princes, all of whom, as I then remarked, had just claims to be described as fathers of this Chamber,

is still fresh in my memory. To many who were present on that occasion the thought must have occurred, as it certainly did to me, that the last of the four niches in the wall before me was inevitably reserved for the Maharaja of Bikaner, whose services to this Chamber, which His Highness the Chancellor has just recounted, were—and are perhaps likely to remain—unique and unparalleled. And in all our minds that thought must have been accompanied by the hope that His Highness might yet be spared for many years and that India and the King-Emperor might count upon him at least until the war had been won. But that hope was not to be fulfilled and the fourth niche is no longer empty.

The services and achievements which we are commemorating today have been so fully and feelingly reviewed by your Chancellor that it is unnecessary for me to recapitulate them. I would only associate myself with all that he has said and again express my gratitude for the opportunity to salute the memory of His late Highness not only as a great and inspiring leader but as one whose personal friendship I am proud to have enjoyed through so many years. The inspiration of a great poet enables him sometimes to say in a few pregnant words some thing that an ordinary mortal could not achieve even in pages of laboured prose. And no one, I think would grudge to the late Maharaja of Bikaner the application of familiar lines which, though written centuries ago, seem to me incomparably appropriate on this sad occasion :—

‘He was a man. Take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again.’ ”

63. VICEROY'S INTEREST IN NEW DELHI

Quite properly, said Lord Linlithgow in his reply to the New Delhi Municipal Committee's Farewell to him, they expected to be able to look ultimately to the Viceroy himself for special interest and encouragement. They would, therefore, share his deep satisfaction that his successor was to be of “such exceptional distinction and well-proved wisdom as Lord Wavell”. Text of His Excellency's reply to the address on Oct. 16, 1943 :—

Oct. 16,
1943

“On Her Excellency's behalf and my own I thank you most warmly for your address by which we have been deeply touched. Your city has been our home for $7\frac{1}{2}$ eventful and laborious years, years in which we have known both satisfaction and disappointment, years of sunshine and shadow, of storm and intermittently of calm, years certainly that will live in our recollection always. Let me at once say how much pleasure it has given my wife and myself to receive a token of such generous appreciation from a body of such standing and distinction as yours.

As you say, we have both taken a very real interest in the capital city and I for my part derive very special pleasure from your tribute to Her Excellency's work in India. You have in New Delhi a permanent anti-Tuberculosis Clinic started as the result of her great

appeal. The initiative she took has led to a considerable measure of solid achievement in this vital field and I can testify to the many hours of hard labour and thought that she has devoted to this and other good causes.

The interrupted schemes for developing further the amenities of the capital were dear to both of us and we shall hope, after the war, to read of their completion. At present, as you fully recognise, it is out of the question to go ahead with any building projects unless they are immediate necessities, and usually they must be connected with the war effort. It is, however, gratifying to think that the anti-malaria scheme, thanks to the devoted efforts of an expert band of workers, has been so very successful and has become a model for the whole world. It is good of you to recognise my own share in the inception and carrying through of this great scheme for which many thousands have daily (and nightly) reason to be thankful.

Your municipality quite properly expects to be able to look to the Government of India and ultimately to the Viceroy himself for special interest and encouragement. So you will I know share my own deep satisfaction that I should be handing over this office to a successor of such exceptional distinction and well-proved wisdom as Lord Wavell. The burden on the Viceroy was always heavy and the war has made it doubly so. But I know Lord Wavell, and I feel very confident that in his assistance to you over the affairs of New Delhi as in the wider sphere he will demonstrate most conclusively that His Majesty the King-Emperor could not have made a sounder choice of Viceroy. I am glad also to think too that you will have a friend at Court in the new Private Secretary whom I appointed as Chief Commissioner of Delhi and who is exceptionally well aware of your needs and of your difficulties.

You express anxiety about the removal after the war of the many temporary buildings which must be admitted to mar the beauty of the city. As I announced in my recent speech to the houses of the legislature it is the definite policy of the Government of India to remove those buildings as soon as possible. It is the intention that all the temporary buildings that have been constructed for use as offices and hostels, etc., in the neighbourhood of the Secretariat, in the Irwin Stadium, near the Willingdon aerodrome, in the neighbourhood of Connaught Circus and in various blocks, which, under the New Delhi Development Scheme, had been allotted for other purposes will be removed as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. That removal will be a welcome sign of the outright victory which we all intend to win. When the day of victory dawns and the enemies of man's progress are humbled and cast down, we shall all look forward, and I think with good reason, to a brilliant future for this city. Resources will be available for undertaking a great effort to raise the standard of living throughout India's territories, and New Delhi will certainly gain at least indirect benefit: while additional advantage will accrue from the development of air travel for which this seems likely to be an important nodal point.

Her Excellency and I will watch your progress with intense and personal interest. We thank you again most warmly for coming to bid us farewell and for the very generous terms of your address. We wish you all good fortune and success.

Goodbye to you all."

64. FAREWELL ADVICE TO PRINCES

In his farewell address to the Chamber of Princes on October 14, 1943, Lord Linlithgow reaffirms his "faith and confidence" in the Federal ideal from the point of view equally of British India, Indian States and India as a whole. Indian unity is "wholly consistent with the survival and orderly development of the Indian States". Oct. 14, 1943

The Viceroy draws attention to "the great developments of recent years, profound changes, new forces, new ideas, a new attitude of mind in the international field". In the face of them, no reasonable man amongst the Princes would deny that "the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding obligations to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection".

His Excellency reviews the progress of the scheme designed to secure for the smaller States, through co-operative measures among themselves or under the aegis of larger States, a standard of administrative efficiency beyond their individual resources. He deeply regrets that final decisions could not be reached during his Viceroyalty on the "scheme for safeguarding standards of administration, particularly after the period of a ruler's minority, by the application of formal constitutional methods for the transaction of State business", and on the problem as to what proportion of a State's revenue should be earmarked for the Ruler and his family and the items which should come within the scope of Civil Lists and Privy Purses.

He refers to Indian States which have become "an example and an inspiration to other parts of India" and urges that it must be their object "to ensure that that shall be the case in every area".

It is the "true and legitimate function" of the Crown Representative "to awaken the indifferent to consciousness of the dangers that threaten them; to point out deficiencies; to suggest remedies; to co-ordinate individual initiatives for the benefit of all".

The Viceroy pays a glowing tribute to the Indian Princes' co-operation in the war effort. In presenting a united front, the States have also most willingly and comprehensively applied to their territories the British Indian Ordinances and other arrangements devised to meet emergencies.

Lord Linlithgow assures the Princes that in his successor, Lord Wavell, "the great soldier and distinguished administrator", the States would have "a wise, sagacious and sympathetic friend".

Extracts from the address :

"Let me first pay tribute to the memory of those who are no longer with us. Since our last meeting, six members of the Chamber have passed away—Their Highnesses of Bikaner, Jhalawar, Ajai garh and Jhabua, the Raja of Khilchipur and the Raja of Kurundwad

(Junior) who was a Representative Member and I have just heard with very great regret of the death of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin whose State I had the pleasure of visiting less than two months ago and who had done so much in the short period of his rule for the good of his people.

His Highness the Chancellor will be voicing our tribute to these departed Princes. I will only add to what I have already said this morning about His Highness of Bikaner, a special word of deep regret at the untimely demise of His Highness of Jhalawar, a prince of exceptional promise, selflessly devoted to the discharge of his high responsibilities. Rarely, if ever, did he fail to attend the meetings of this Chamber, and his absence today leaves a gap which we all deplore.

To those who have succeeded to Rulership and membership of this Chamber I offer a most cordial welcome. To His Highness of Bikaner we confidently look to carry on the great services rendered to the Order of Princes by his illustrious father. It is a pleasure, too, to see here today for the first time the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and Their Highnesses of Dhrangadhra, Manipur and Jhabua, and also the Rajas of Baghat and Kurundwad (Senior) and the Rao of Jigni who have been elected as Representative Members since our last meeting. Nor must I omit to mention the recent admission to membership of the Raja of Shahpura, the Nawab of Kurwai and the Rajas of Talcher, Kalsia and Phaltan, four of whom we are glad to welcome in person today. . . .

Naturally, my thoughts turn first to the sphere of active operations and I would at the outset warmly thank and congratulate those of Your Highnesses who have been able to hearten and encourage the troops by personal visits to the various Fronts.

I would wish, too, to pay a special tribute to the invaluable assistance in the war effort that has been given by His Highness the Chancellor. Not only has His Highness rendered service of great value as one of the Representatives of India at the War Cabinet, he has taken advantage of his absence from India to perform sterling service as one of the spokesmen of this great country overseas. And he has spared no pains to acquaint himself in the fullest detail with the organisation of war effort in the United Kingdom. I hope that in the course of this session we shall hear from His Highness himself some account of his experiences. But, for myself, I would like to add my testimony to the value of his contribution, the importance of the contacts he has made, the encouragement that his visit has given to the troops and to the munition workers that he has visited.

The Indian States Forces have taken full advantage of the opportunities that have come to them to win fresh distinction on the battlefield. Comparisons are rash. And such distinction is of course largely dependent upon opportunity. But I would mention the gallant record of the Kashmir Mountain Battery, the 1st Patiala Infantry, the Jind Infantry, the Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, two Jaipur Battalions, the Tripura Rifles and the Tehri-Garhwal and Malerkotla

Sappers and Miners. Nor should I fail to record my gratitude for the manner in which the States as a whole have adopted the scheme devised to raise the standard of efficiency among the higher ranks of their Forces. I realise and appreciate the difficulties that may on occasion confront Your Highnesses in these and other connected matters. But I know too that you on your part will recognise that the first duty of the Military Adviser-in-Chief is to devise schemes to rectify such deficiencies as come to notice under the stress and strain of war. A new scheme for the exchange of officers, and another for providing advanced training for State units will I understand shortly be put forward. I am convinced that Your Highnesses will continue to view such proposals with sympathy and realism, and that I and my successor can look for your full co-operation over them. . . .

But it is not only to humble homes that the war has brought sad and untimely bereavements. I spoke last year of an Heir-Apparent who had met his death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. Since then a similar blow has fallen upon two other members of this Chamber and I feel sure that Your Highnesses would wish me to tender deep sympathy and condolences to the Raja of Sangli and the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. . . .

I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent response consistently made by the Indian States to the urgent needs of this critical time. They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation: thanks to their help, great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind, have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been most readily granted not only to British and Indian forces, but to the forces of our Allies; and in particular certain States, at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new science of jungle warfare.

I referred in my last address to the steadily expanding scope of measures to achieve the maximum co-ordination of effort between the States and British India. Instances of such co-operation could be multiplied indefinitely and there is no time to catalogue them today. But I would make mention of one notable incident in which a group of hostile agents were arrested with most commendable promptitude almost immediately after they had landed from an enemy submarine on the shores of an Indian State. Further and most valuable demonstrations of this united front as between the States and Provinces, are to be found in the more prosaic but not less vital sphere of war time legislation, where States have most willingly and comprehensively applied to their territories the British Indian Ordinances and other arrangements devised to meet the various emergencies which have been constantly arising.

Let me add one further instance in which the States and their subjects are making an important contribution to our resources. The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department was, up to the outbreak of war, functioning on commercial lines as a self-supporting organisation making no contribution to the general revenues of British India.

Such an arrangement is of course only fair to the States who by entering, as the vast majority of them have done, into postal unity with British India, undertook no liability to submit to indirect taxation in the form of surcharges on the normal economic rates for the transmission of letters and telegrams. The exigencies of war time finance have however compelled the Government of India, following in this matter the lead of the Government of the United Kingdom, to raise the postal and telegraphic rates for the express purpose of making a substantial surplus available as a contribution towards war expenditure. It was of course impracticable to confine this process to British India, and it is with deep appreciation that I learn that the States are pressing no objection to the additional financial burden which it places on themselves and on their subjects. The financial value of that burden cannot immediately be precisely computed. But given the areas and the populations affected, it cannot but be substantial. And its acceptance is yet another and a most valuable voluntary contribution by the Indian States towards the prosecution of the war.

The same uniform and wholehearted co-operation has been shown in regard to those grim problems of the war which have been so distressingly prominent during the current year—food, cloth, inflation. In our efforts to combat the food crisis we have had the benefit of full association at every stage with accredited representatives of the States. Those who have a surplus have freely placed it at our disposal. Those in deficiency have of course participated in the common resources. I could but wish that those resources had proved more adequate to their needs. I have particularly in mind the States to Travancore and Cochin which, deprived of their normal supplies of Burma rice, have borne a particularly heavy burden. I would like to pay a tribute both to the efforts made by the States Governments concerned, with which I was able to acquaint myself at first hand during my recent visit to South India, to cope with a situation so distressing, and to the patience and fortitude of the population so sorely tried. . . .

In the steps that have had to be taken to remedy the shortage of cloth there is the same record of friendly helpfulness. Many important centres of the textile industry are situated in Indian States, and I am deeply grateful to the States concerned for the manner in which they have placed the products of their looms at the disposal of the Central Government ; often at no small sacrifice to themselves.

Inflation is one of the gravest problems that faces us today. It is a problem in the handling of which the States and British India are equally concerned, and in which they have a common interest. Action to combat inflation is essential, for it is a threat to everyone of us, and to India as a whole. I realise that anti-inflationary measures present a complex problem in the case of the States, having regard to the varying conditions of their fiscal arrangements and their relative backwardness in industrial development. But I know that Your Highnesses share my view that the question is one that must be resolutely tackled. And I look for valuable results from the discussions

that I myself have had with some of you on this topic, discussions which my Political Adviser is, on my behalf, continuing and developing during this week. I would like to take this opportunity to make it clear beyond any question that such checks and prohibitions as it has been necessary to apply are based solely upon the present overriding need to conserve and regulate the resources of the country as a whole so that the output of essential supplies should not be curtailed or disturbed for the benefit of local or personal interests. There is not, and there cannot be, any question of their being designed to stifle the birth, or the progress, of industrial development in the Indian States.

Matters such as these, and others too numerous to mention, will of course come under review in connection with post-war development and reconstruction. The plans of the Central Government for dealing with that great problem are already well advanced. I am glad to be able to assure Your Highnesses that they contain full provision for associating your States with its numerous ramifications, and I am glad too to think that many of your ablest Ministers are included in the various Committees that are being set up.

Public opinion must inevitably take the closest interest in these activities of reconstruction. I am the more grateful for the response of so many States to the advice which I offered to you at our last session in regard to the National War Front movement. That movement was established when the war outlook was dark and threatening. As the intervening months have passed, it has developed into a public-city organisation concerned with every aspect of public morale. It is some measure of Your Highness' support of this vital work that in 15 months, 287 States have brought War Front organisations into being. That is a response of which the States have every right to be proud and, as the founder of the Movement, I congratulate Your Highnesses on it. And, though the name of the War Front Movement must ultimately die, the spirit and work behind it should live. For it contains tremendous potentialities for establishing means by which the good in man and in life may be more widely known and the things that are evil challenged and destroyed.

Before I leave the dominating topic of the war I would add a few words of appreciation of the generosity shown by so many of Your Highnesses towards refugees from other countries whose sufferings have been immensely greater than ours. In particular I have in mind your aid towards establishing a temporary refuge in India for a great number of Polish children. Here again I must refer to the outstanding energy and personal interest, and to the most generous personal aid, which has been given by His Highness the Chancellor. What he has done for Polish children will long be remembered, not only by those children to whom his kindness has been so real, but by the great Polish nation. I should mention also the similar settlement in the Kolhapur State where facilities have been most readily and generously provided and where the personal sympathy of Her Highness the Maharani Regent has been of the utmost value.

Time presses and I have much to say on matters of even greater importance, but I could not forgive myself if I failed today to thank Your Highnesses for your lavish support in two matters unconnected with the war but specially near to the hearts of Her Excellency and myself. I refer of course to my wife's Anti-Tuberculosis campaign and to the activities of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

I cannot over-estimate my sense of the importance of the Anti-Tuberculosis campaign. It is I am certain of profound significance to the future of this country. And it is a very real happiness to my wife, who has spared no effort for it during her time here, and to myself, to think that we leave India with the campaign against this scourge so firmly established. The support of the All-India Cattle Show Society by more than 60 States has been continuous and invaluable. I am grateful in particular that it should have been greater even than before in this current year in spite of the other numerous demands on your resources. I feel certain that the work of the Society merits in the fullest degree the friendly co-operation of Your Highnesses, and that it responds to instincts deeply rooted in every great agricultural country. The fight against tuberculosis, the struggle to improve India's cattle and so the condition of the peasant and the countryside, are very close to the hearts of both of us, and my wife and I, I can assure you, will in the days after we have left India, continue to take the liveliest and most vivid interest in both. . . .

It has been suggested to me more than once that the immense aggregate importance of these States as an element in the Indian continent, and their vital concern in the solution of all Indian problems, have not always been fully appreciated. I cannot believe that that can be the case, or that any well-informed observer can fail to realise the vast area which the Indian States occupy, the size of their population, their great resources, the outstanding place which they hold in the history of India, and the extent to which the future of this great sub-continent must be, and is, of immediate and profound concern to them. But the very size and importance of the Indian States as a whole makes the problems that Your Highnesses, and the Crown Representative of the day have to face the more significant.

Your Highnesses have often heard me refer both in my previous addresses to this Chamber, and in other places, to my own view of the significance and value of the Federal scheme which was the coping-stone of the Act of 1935. There was no doubt that much could be said in point of detail against that scheme. Equally, as I have said before, much could have been and can be urged against any scheme that can be devised for the constitutional future of India. But just as I have always believed that the Federal scheme was the best answer that could at that time have been devised for the problems of British India equally it was, and is my sincere belief that such a scheme is the best answer from the point of view of the Indian States, and from the point of view of India as a whole. Events beyond our control have necessitated changes in our plans, and to some extent have altered the circumstances with which we have to deal and in which we have

to build. But speaking here to Your Highnesses today for the last time I wish to reaffirm my faith and confidence in the Federal ideal, and in the contribution which the realisation with general support of that ideal, whatever adjustments might prove necessary in regard to particular aspects of it, would make to Indian unity and to the constitutional future of India.

And when I speak of unity I need not emphasise to Your Highnesses the importance of all of us standing together in the conditions of the modern world. It is very difficult for units, however large ; whatever their form of Government ; whatever their resources, to exist save in relation to, and as part of a larger whole. The bonds that link units one to another may be light as gossamer. But they exist : they are there : and their strength and their significance cannot be denied. If that is true of a continent as large as Europe, it is true, I am certain, equally of this great sub-continent of India ; and inside that sub-continent it holds good equally especially when common interests are so largely involved, of the Indian States. That that unity is wholly consistent with the survival and the orderly development of the Indian States ; that the Indian States with their distinguished history, with their special relations with the Crown so fully recognised, based as they are on treaties, sanads, and engagements, with their long tradition, can make a great and useful contribution to India's future I never have doubted, and I do not doubt today. It must be our business to see in what way that contribution can best be made, and what best can be its character.

I spoke just now of survival accompanied by development. The juxtaposition of these two words is of deep and vital significance, as I know that Your Highnesses fully realise. There have been great developments of recent years, profound changes, new forces, new ideas, a new attitude of mind in the international field. All these facts have to be taken into account. And in the face of them you and I, who have to live in the world of today, must think and act realistically. It would be an injustice to Your Highnesses were I to assume that any reasonable man amongst you would deny that the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding responsibilities to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection. On the contrary I am glad to think that that most important proposition is widely accepted among you. I can claim during the period of my Viceroyalty to have spared no effort to assist Your Highnesses to give effect to the principles that underlie it. And I should indeed have regarded it not only as a dereliction of my duty but as a grave disservice to the Princely Order had I in the least degree relaxed my efforts to do so.

When I last addressed this Chamber I referred to three particular directions towards which those efforts were, in consultation and co-operation with Your Highnesses, being exerted.

I spoke firstly of the decisive necessity in regard to the smaller States of some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency which is beyond their individual resources.

That progress has since continued with encouraging results—particularly in Eastern India, from which area I am glad to see so many Rulers present today. I congratulate them on what they have been able to achieve and I look forward with confidence to its consolidation and extension. In other areas too progress has been made and new ideas are afoot. But I have become increasingly conscious of the difficulties which arise, not so much from any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Rulers concerned as from the nature of the foundations on which they have to build. I devoutly wish that these difficulties could before my departure from India have been surmounted by the formulation and application of general principles acceptable to all concerned. But in matters so delicate undue haste might well have defeated the object in view. I have had to content myself therefore with giving instructions that the progress hitherto achieved and the difficulties thereby revealed shall within the next few weeks be systematically reviewed and considered by my advisers, so that thereafter, so soon as can conveniently be arranged, my successor may be able to initiate discussions either with the Standing Committee or with selected representatives of the category of States principally concerned, from which discussions a clear plan of action may emerge. I appeal most earnestly to Your Highnesses to co-operate whole-heartedly in these processes. For I regard them, and I cannot emphasise this too strongly, as being literally of vital importance for the vast majority of you.

Your Highnesses will realise that measures such as these to which I now refer, involving as they do a certain measure of sacrifice on the part of those small units to which I have mentioned, do at the same time represent a most valuable contribution to the improvement of administration, and to the removal of criticism, consistently with the survival and development, by means of co-operation among themselves or under the aegis of larger States, of the smaller States affected. The sacrifices involved, as I have observed to Your Highnesses on previous occasions, are an inevitable accompaniment of the co-operative method. But I feel no shadow of doubt that they are justified in terms of the benefits involved, whether we test those benefits by the improvement of the standard of administrative services and amenities or by wider political considerations. A heavy obligation rests upon us all. And that obligation makes it difficult—and I am certain that Your Highnesses agree with me—to view with equanimity conditions in which, owing to the smallness of the area, or of the resources, of individual States, it may be impossible to secure the application of modern standards of justice, or of administration, to the inhabitants of the area concerned.

I would add that the line of argument which I have been following in regard to small States is no less applicable to the Jagirs and *Thikanas* which, though forming an integral part of certain States, still maintain some semblance of jurisdictional and administrative machinery. Let me make it clear beyond any question that the times are no longer propitious for Jagirdars and Thakurs who seek to assert or perpetuate a semi-independence wholly incompatible with their limited resources,

and so, inevitably harmful to the interests of the inhabitants of the areas concerned.

I spoke also at the last session of this Chamber of a scheme for safeguarding standards of administration, particularly after the period of a Ruler's minority by the application of formal constitutional methods for the transaction of State business. I referred too to the difficult and delicate problem of determining what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be ear-marked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Civil Lists and Privy Purses. Here again I am denied the satisfaction of seeing final decisions reached during the period of my Viceroyalty. I deeply regret that that should be the case. For the issue is one of prime importance. And it is one in which close and critical interest is taken not only in India, but far outside the borders of this country. I do therefore sincerely trust that in regard to it an early solution, and one that may command general commendation not only in this country but outside, may be forthcoming. The recent discussions between representative Princes and my advisers have been of real value, and I confidently hope that they will shortly yield those solid and generally acceptable results to which I have just referred.

I would like to take this occasion to say how much as Crown Representative I value the advice and the frank expression of the views of representative Princes in matters such as this. For the decisions that have to be taken by the Crown Representative are often grave ones, and he will, I am sure, at all times be anxious to be assured, before he reaches a conclusion that he is fully cognisant of the views of the Princely Order on matters so directly concerning members of that Order, and of the considerations that weigh with them.

Your Highnesses will realise, as I do, that the problems that face you today are far from simple, and that there lies ahead a period in which problems more difficult still may have to be confronted. If the best interests of the States, the best interests of India, are to be safeguarded, we must be at pains to face the facts and be willing, even at the cost of sacrifice, to make such adjustments as the turn of world events makes necessary. I know from my own extensive journeyings among the States to what an extent certain Indian States have become an example and an inspiration to other parts of India. It must be our object to ensure that that shall be the case in every area. And, indeed, it is essential in the interests of the States and in the interests of their survival that they should not fall below modern standards of administration in any way. I need not assure Your Highnesses as I talk of those difficult and delicate matters that to the extent that I, or my representatives on my instructions, have had to take a particular line in regard to co-operative measures and the like, I have been concerned solely—and it is the true and legitimate function in this sphere of the Crown Representative—to awaken the indifferent to consciousness of the dangers that threaten them; to point out deficiencies; to suggest remedies; to co-ordinate individual initiatives

for the benefit of all. But you may be certain that at all times the underlying consideration that has governed any decisions that I have had to take, and that will, I am sure, govern such decisions as may fall to be taken by my successors, is that the Indian States shall fit themselves to play that great and positive part in the development of India as a whole which their importance and their history justifies ; and that it is to the interest of the Princely Order that such weaknesses as may today exist, whether in administration or organisation, shall be eliminated with the minimum of delay.

I would not like to conclude my observations today without again thanking Your Highnesses and the Princely Order for the invaluable help that you have given to the war effort, and without thanking you, too, for the help that I have had in the efforts I have made while I have been Viceroy to further the modernization of administration in the States, and for the help you have given me on so very many critical issues directly affecting the well-being and the future of your States. These are testing times—all of us realise that. But Your Highnesses represent great and distinguished traditions and the Indian States do as a whole represent a great potentiality for good in the times that lie before us. On the eve therefore of my laying down the great office which I have had the honour to hold I appeal to Your Highnesses here today, and through you to the Princely Order and to all who exercise authority and influence in the Indian States, to see to it that the splendid opportunity lying before the Rulers of those States is not missed, and to ensure that advantage is taken of it with such vigour and foresight, with such judicious blending of old and new, with such subordination of narrow personal and local interests, to true patriotism that the future of India—of the Indian States in close collaboration with British India—may be ensured, and that future generations may remember with gratitude the part played by the leaders of Princely India in securing the stability of that common and glorious inheritance.

When next this Chamber meets it will be under the Chairmanship of the great soldier and distinguished administrator who is now about to succeed me as Viceroy. Lord Wavell's wide range of knowledge and experience, the interest that he has always taken in the Indian States, are well known to Your Highnesses ; and in the difficulties and the problems that have to be faced by the Indian States, I know that in him the States will have a wise, sagacious, and sympathetic friend. And now before I close my address let me thank you all once again, and that most warmly and sincerely, for all the help and the constant and generous support that you have given to me in the 7½ years during which I have had the honour to preside over the deliberations of Your Highnesses, and to represent the Crown in its dealings with the Indian States and the Princely Order''.

PART IV

CONTACT WITH PARTY LEADERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

1. VICEROY MAKES MR. GANDHI'S PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Perhaps for the first time in the history of British Indian Government a Viceroy took the initiative and invited a party leader to meet him when about the middle of 1937 Lord Linlithgow intimated to Mr. Gandhi that he would welcome an opportunity of meeting him and was "anxious to make his personal acquaintance". This was after Congressmen had formed Ministries in six out of the eleven autonomous Indian provinces as a result of the general elections of the year.

In his broadcast immediately after taking the Oaths of Allegiance and of Office on April 18, 1936, Lord Linlithgow had declared that the working of representative Government, amongst other things, required that he should as far as practicable be in touch with the leaders of all political parties as well as with the trend of opinion in the electorates. He was anxious at the same time that it should be understood that when he granted an interview to a party leader, it did not indicate that he favoured the leader or the party. "This rule and convention", he added, "is well understood in Great Britain as between the Crown and political leaders in that country."

I.

*Text of the communique on Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy on August 4, 1937: **

His Excellency the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the 4th of August.

The interview was in response to a letter addressed by His Excellency during his recent tour to Assam to Mr. Gandhi, in which the Viceroy intimated that he would welcome the opportunity of meeting Mr. Gandhi if the latter was able to come to see him at Delhi on his return journey; that he had no public business to discuss, but was anxious to make his personal acquaintance, and trusted, therefore, that it would be convenient to Mr. Gandhi to accept his invitation.

* Lord Linlithgow saw Mr. Jinnah on Sept. 4, 1937.

Mr. Gandhi in reply informed the Viceroy that he had already been intending to ask His Excellency to grant him an interview to discuss the ban on the entry of Khan Sahib Abdul Ghaffar Khan into the North-West Frontier Province and his own entry into that Province, since, while there was no bar against his visiting the North-West Frontier Province, he had not intended to do so without the approval of the authorities. The interview with the Viceroy would in these circumstances be doubly welcome and Mr. Gandhi assumed that His Excellency would see no objection to discussing these matters.

The Viceroy listened with interest to Mr. Gandhi's views on the matters in question and undertook to communicate them to the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province. The interview otherwise was entirely general and personal in character, the principal subject of discussion being rural uplift and the improvement of the condition of the peasantry.

II

Text of the communique on Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy on April 15, 1938:

Towards the end of March, His Excellency the Viceroy wrote to Mr. Gandhi to say that it would give him pleasure to renew their acquaintance before His Excellency moved to Simla, and to suggest that it might be convenient for Mr. Gandhi to pay him a visit if he could pass through Delhi on his way from Calcutta.

His Excellency added that he had no special business to discuss with Mr. Gandhi, but would welcome an opportunity of seeing him again.

Mr. Gandhi replied that he had pleasure in accepting His Excellency's invitation, and the interview took place on April 15.

The meeting, which was of a very cordial character, dealt with general topics and lasted about 1½ hours.

2. JOINT MEETING WITH PARTY LEADERS

Following his announcement of October 18, 1939, Lord Linlithgow proceeded to explore the means of giving effect to the proposals. He discussed the position with Mr. Gandhi and the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League jointly on November 1. He suggested that they might enter upon discussions between themselves in order to reach a basis of agreement in the provincial field and, thereafter, let His Excellency have proposals for participation of representatives of the two parties in the Central Government as members of his Executive Council. He added that it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of differences in the provinces.

Text of the correspondence between His Excellency and the party leaders which was published along with Lord Linlithgow's statement of November 5 (page 211) :—

I.

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M.L.A., President, All-India Muslim League, dated The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, 2nd November 1939.

You will remember that I agreed during our conversation yesterday to let you have in concrete form the proposition which I put to you and the other gentlemen who were present at the meeting, emphasising that I did so with a genuine desire to help, a desire fully shared by His Majesty's Government.

2. The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the Provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre.

3. I added, in regard to any arrangement at the Centre,—

First, that one would hope that it might be found practicable to include also one or possibly more representatives of other important groups, and that that was a question on which I should value your advice when we came to grapple with the details :

Secondly, that the arrangement which I invited you to consider for the Centre would be an *ad hoc* arrangement for the period of the war, and quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war ; and I mentioned that on that last point my declaration had set out the position of His Majesty's Government. I attach a copy of the extracts from that declaration which I brought to the notice of the meeting yesterday.

Thirdly, that the position of anyone appointed to my Executive Council as a member of a political party would be identical, in privileges and in obligations, with that of the existing members of my Council : and

Fourthly, that the arrangement would be within the general scheme of the existing law. It would be admittedly and inevitably a makeshift arrangement for the duration of the campaign. I brought out that what was required now, if we could get a workable scheme together, was to put it into operation with as little delay as possible

pending the more general review of the whole constitutional position which His Majesty's Government have expressed their readiness to undertake after the conclusion of hostilities.

4. I think the above makes the position clear. Let me in conclusion repeat that, as I said yesterday, I am at any time at your disposal or that of the other gentlemen who attended our meeting, whether jointly or singly, to give any assistance in my power in reaching conclusions on these most important matters. I feel certain, as I said yesterday, that the suggestions I have put to you, reflecting as they do very real and substantial evidence of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to reach a complete understanding, will receive full and sympathetic consideration from you.

[Enclosure.]

Extracts from the Viceroy's Declaration of 18th October 1939.

"His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests, in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

I added—

"I have I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been, to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal."

I remarked finally, speaking of the demands of the minorities for an assurance that full weight would be given to their views and interests—

"It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect any important part of India's future constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament."

II

Reply dated Birla House, New Delhi, November 3, 1939, from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Indian National Congress, to His Excellency's letter dated The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, November 2, 1939 :—

I thank you for your letter of November 2nd, embodying in concrete form the proposition which you had placed before us when we saw you on November 1st. My colleagues and I have given our earnest consideration to it. We have had also the advantage of full talks with Mr. M. A. Jinnah. But we find ourselves unable to vary the answer we gave you during the interview.

At the outset I would like to say that both Gandhiji and I missed at the interview any reference to the main and moral issue raised by the Congress about clarification of war aims without which it was impossible for the Congress to consider any subsidiary proposal.

The present crisis has arisen owing to the outbreak of the war in Europe and the action of the British Government in declaring India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people. This crisis is entirely political and is not related to the communal issue in India. It raises vital questions in regard to the war aims of the British Government and the position of India in relation to them. The Congress Working Committee, as you are aware, issued a lengthy statement on September 14th, 1939, in which they invited the British Government to declare these war aims and, in particular, how these aims were going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. It was further stated that the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly, without external interference, and should guide their own policy. On the 10th of October, 1939, the All-India Congress Committee approved of and endorsed this statement, and stated that in the declaration to be made by the British Government, India must be declared an independent nation and present application should be given to this status to the largest possible extent. The Committee further added that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities.

Subsequent to this, the policy of the British Government was declared in the Viceregal statement, extracts from which you have been good enough to send me. This statement was considered by the Congress Working Committee soon after and the Committee expressed their opinion that it was unfortunate and wholly unsatisfactory. As a consequence of this, they felt compelled to declare that they were unable to give any support to Great Britain and to call upon the Provincial Governments, in provinces where the Congress is in a majority, to tender their resignations.

It is worthy of note that the Viceregal declaration of British policy met with disapproval of the overwhelming body of opinion in India, even outside the Congress.

Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government in Parliament have not made any essential difference to the policy

outlined in the Viceregal statement, and as you have rightly pointed out, that policy is still governed by the extracts from it that you have kindly sent us. I am afraid it is quite impossible for us to accept this policy or to consider any steps to further co-operation unless the policy of the British Government is made clear in a declaration on the lines suggested by the Congress.

It has pained us to find the communal question being dragged in in this connection. It has clouded the main issue. It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Congress that it is our earnest desire to settle all points of communal controversy by agreement and we propose to continue our efforts to this end. But I would point out that this question does not in any respect come in the way of a declaration of Indian freedom as suggested above. Such a declaration applies to the whole of India and not to any particular community, and the Constituent Assembly which will frame India's constitution, will be formed on the widest possible basis of franchise and by agreement in regard to communal representation. We are all agreed that there must be full protection of minority rights and interests and this protection should be by agreement between the parties concerned. The British Government taking or sharing the burden has, in our opinion, made a settlement of the question much more difficult than it should have been. It should allay all real anxiety on the part of the British Government when the Congress declares that it contemplates no constitution which does not carry with it the protection of real minorities to their satisfaction.

It seems to us that a clear declaration of the kind suggested is an essential preliminary to any further consideration of the matter. I should like to add that recent developments in the European war have made it all the more necessary for a clear enunciation of war aims. If a satisfactory declaration is made a discussion of the proposal made by Your Excellency will be appropriate and useful and we shall gladly discuss it with you.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that Gandhiji is in full agreement with this letter. We propose to leave tomorrow evening for Wardha unless Your Excellency desires otherwise.

III

Letter dated November 4, 1939, from Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M.L.A., President, All-India Muslim League, in reply to His Excellency the Viceroy's letter of November 2, 1939:—

With reference to the joint interview which Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, and myself had with you on the 1st of November and in reply to your letter, dated the 2nd of November, I beg to inform you that I understood that the Congress leaders and myself were to consider the proposals of Your Excellency, namely—to quote from Your Excellency's letter—"The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as



The Viceroy examines an old soldier's medals during a visit to Chawla village near Delhi.

leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves in the Provincial field consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as Members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre", without prejudice to the resolution of the Muslim League of the 22nd of October stating that the Declaration of Your Excellency on behalf of His Majesty's Government was not satisfactory and required further clarification and assurances and also without prejudice to the demand of the Congress for a Declaration as adumbrated in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the 10th of October 1939.

In consequence I met the leaders of the Congress and I was informed by them finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the Provincial field or "at the Centre" until the British Government had complied with their demand as embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee; hence these two questions were not further discussed.

3. THE MUSLIM LEAGUE POSITION

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, November 5, 1939.

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,—I wish to thank you for giving me the interview on the 4th of November as you had promised in your letter of the 28th October, wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of the 22nd of October.

In my interview with you on the 4th of November the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply :

(1) That so soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo* ;

(2) That no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government

or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, *viz.*, the Mussalmans and the Hindus ;

(3) That His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine ;

(4) That the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

I have already, in my interview, fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above what is indicated in the statement of the 18th of September and the resolution of the 22nd of October of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency.

There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of the 18th of September, *viz.*, the question of securing justice and fairplay to the Mussalmans in the Congress-governed provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessly trampled upon ; but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present.

May I inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning ?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated New Delhi, November 7, 1939.

DEAR MR. JINNAH,—Many thanks for your letter of the 5th November. I fully appreciate the importance of the points which you raise and I will not fail to let you have as early a reply as practicable.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated Bombay, November 18, 1939.

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,—Thank you for your letter of the 7th November 1939. Since the receipt of your letter I have been pressed with inquiries from different parts of the country as to how and where we stand. Would you, therefore, mind if I were to publish my letter to Your Excellency, dated the 5th November and your letter under reply ?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Viceroy's Camp, November 26/27, 1939.

DEAR MR. JINNAH,—Thank you for your letter of the 18th November. I quite understand your anxiety to publish your letter to me of the 5th November and my acknowledgment of it. I should welcome it if you could postpone publication for, say, another ten days, as I am anxious that the interval between publication by you and my reply (which naturally must take some little time to prepare as I have to consult His Majesty's Government) should be as short as possible. But if you feel that it is essential for you to publish without waiting so long, I can raise no objection, though I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know in advance the date you contemplate.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah, Bombay, to Lord Linlithgow, New Delhi, dated November 29, 1939.

Hope my letter of 18th has reached Your Excellency. Am waiting for reply as soon as possible.

Telegram from Viceroy, dated November 29, 1939, to Mr. Jinnah, Bombay.

Many thanks for your telegram of today. I hope you will by now have received my letter of the 27th November posted from Bahawalpur —VICEROY.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Calcutta, December 23, 1939.

Dear MR. JINNAH,—I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5, in which you submitted certain points for my consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will none the less serve to remove your difficulties.

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October 18 last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

3. With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be underrated.

4. In framing their policy for Palestine, His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

5. Finally, you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country. This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power. You will appreciate, however, that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter, which would have the effect of limiting India's right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be foreseen; in the present situation, however, as you are aware, every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

League Committee's Resolution of Feb. 3, 1940

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, February 6, 1940.

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,—I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee's resolution passed on the 3rd of February 1940 regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

** The following is the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League dated February 3rd :—*

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply dated 23rd December, 1939. The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated 18th September and 22nd October, 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H.E. the Viceroy dated February 23, 1940.

The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency with the approval

of His Majesty's Government, on October 18, 1939, does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards the second point the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made for a definite assurance has not been met, *viz.*, that no declaration should, either in principle or, otherwise, be made or any constitution be enforced by His Majesty's Government or enacted by Parliament without the approval and consent of the Mussalmans of India. We recognise Your Excellency's assurance when you state that 'His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional development in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily give their views will be underrated.' But, I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the ninety million Mussalmans of India only in the region of consultation and counsel, and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain, to determine the fate and future of Muslim India. We regret that we cannot accept this position.

As to the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs. The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands and they continue to be fully alive to that issue. But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay.

With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim Power or country, the Committee feel that Your Excellency has misunderstood the position. When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim Power or country, it was not intended that they shall not be used for the defence of the country in case of an attack on or aggression against India. While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government, at the instance of the Government of India, to insure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected, we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

It is required of the Muslim League to give assurance of the whole-hearted co-operation and active support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war. The Committee are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Mussalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently, we do not consider it unreasonable on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitments will be made with regard

to the future constitution of India or any interim settlement with any other party, without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat with the leadership of the Mussalmans as a responsible body, then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire unjustly to harm any community. The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans but may be disastrous for them.

As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops, our demands as explained by me above cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community. It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details but if Your Excellency so desires, I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller detail at an early date.

THE VICEROY'S REPLY.

Mr. Jinnah was granted an interview by the Viceroy on March 13 and on April 19. His Excellency wrote with reference to Mr. Jinnah's letter of February 23, 1940 :

I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expects anything further from me in regard to the first and the third of your points—the scope of the re-examination of the constitutional position to follow the war, and policy in Palestine.

You ask, however, for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim Powers or countries, while explaining, as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. I presume that you do not expect a guarantee, which it would obviously be impossible to give, binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee. But you need have no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration underlying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately, however, so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers, to some of whom, indeed, they are bound by alliance, while with the rest they are on terms of most cordial friendship.

You represent that your second point was not felt by the Working Committee to be adequately met by the terms of my letter. You have no doubt noticed the passage in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords on April 18 in which he used these words :

'But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking

given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation. Admittedly, a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen is to become a reality, for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly.'

This statement, I am sure you will agree, has removed any possible doubts on this point.

League Committee's Resolution of June 16, 1940.

The next development was a letter from Mr. Jinnah enclosing a copy of the Working Committee's resolution of June 16, 1940. This resolution read as follows :

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that the further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated April 19, 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on May 27 : " Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.

The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for and, in particular, that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.

But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—there are

many ways of doing so—and, as confident friends, seek our whole-hearted co-operation. And we shall not fail.”

The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee therefore authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis—and not province-wise—between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved. The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country the real purpose will not be served by the Mussalmans and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions.

The Viceroy suggested a meeting with Mr. Jinnah on June 27.

On July 1 Mr. Jinnah sent to Mr. J. G. Laithwaite, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, “a rough note of the points I discussed with him on June 27 in the course of an interview.” This was as follows:—

That no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would, in any way, militate against the basis and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore resolution for division of India and creating Muslim States in the north-west and eastern zones : and it may be stated that that ideal now has become the universal faith of Muslim India.

That His Majesty's Government must give definite and categorical assurance to the Mussalmans of India that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India.

In view of the rapid developments in Europe and the grave danger that is facing India, it is fully realised that everything should be done that is possible to intensify war efforts and mobilise all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquillity, and to ward off external aggression. But this can only be achieved provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the provinces. In other words, Muslim India leadership must be fully trusted as equals, and have an equal share in the authority and control of the Governments, Central and provincial.

Provisionally, and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with an equal share in the authority of the Government :

(A) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged, within the framework of the present constitution and existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussions : but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Mussalmans in that case.

(B) In the provinces where Section 93 has to operate non-official advisers should be appointed, the number to be fixed after further discussion, and the majority of the non-official advisers should be the representatives of Mussalmans : and, where the provinces can be run by a combination of parties or a coalition, naturally it would be for the parties concerned to adjust matters by agreement among themselves.

(C) There should be a war council consisting of no less than fifteen members, including the president, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I don't like the expression ' war consultative committee '. This council should regularly meet to deal with, and review, the general situation as it may develop from time to time, and advice the Government with regard to matters in connection with the prosecution of the war generally, and in particular, the fullest development of the defence possible, and finance, and to make a thorough economic and industrial drive. In this body it will not be difficult to secure the representation and full co-operation of the Indian Princes and, as far as I can judge, they would have no difficulty in joining it. It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured. Here again, the representation of Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

Finally, the representatives of the Mussalmans on the proposed war council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the additional non-official advisers of the Governors should be chosen by the Muslim League.

In a letter dated July 6, 1940 the Viceroy said that in the above letter, "certain of the points taken suggest that there may be some slight misapprehension, which you will, I think, agree that it would be desirable that I should clear without delay.

As regards my expansion of the Executive Council this would, as you rightly observe in your memorandum, be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words, any Council so expanded would co-operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion, and there is a very definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion. At the same time, I readily accept the importance, in the event of any expansion, of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind.

There is however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General-in-Council as a whole. Again it will be clear that under the existing law and practice it must remain with the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Governor-General, to decide upon such names as we may submit to His Majesty the King for inclusion in the Governor-General's Executive Council, and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties, however important : though it may of course be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would, in all cases, do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community.

I need not remind you that under law the whole responsibility for the Government in Section 93 provinces vests exclusively in the Governor, although a Governor can, of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether and if so at what point and in what strength non-official advisers from political parties should be appointed in provinces under Section 93 administration, in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of the circumstances of each province. You will, I think agree with me also that the importance of the community from which advisers are drawn in a particular province has a direct bearing.

Your idea for a war council is, in my view, well worth while considering though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are, of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or Congress.

As regards section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as non-official advisers to rest with the Muslim League.

But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestions you may put forward would not receive full consideration.

Let me in conclusion thank you again for your very clear and valuable memorandum. I realise, of course, fully that it is not merely private and personal but that, in your own words, it embodies a tentative proposal. I am sure that you will agree with me that it is well that there should be no misunderstanding on the important points on which I have touched above."

Mr. Jinnah replied :

As regards the constitutional and legal position that you have been good enough to point out to me in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council, and also with regard to the appointment of Advisers to the Governor, and the position of the Governor working under Section 93 administration, I fully appreciate it. I am glad that the idea of constituting a war council, in your opinion, is well worth while considering. No doubt the details would have to be worked out. But I do not think there is anything in my memorandum which cannot be given effect to by way of convention and, if the Secretary of State and yourself meet us in the spirit of trust and co-operation, the legal and constitutional formalities can be met and complied with. What is required is the spirit of complete understanding.

I am, however, grateful to you for your assurance in paragraph five of your letter, with regard to the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to the Executive Council or as non-official advisers, which runs as follows : ' But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestion you may put forward would not receive full consideration.' On my part I hope that I shall meet you in every reasonable way possible.

In conclusion, I should like to impress upon you that the Congress propaganda is going on vigorously with its work whereas I have not yet given any idea of negotiations or the talk I had with you to the public. I wonder whether you will agree that I should place before the public at least my memorandum which I had sent you.

The Viceroy on July 24, 1940, wrote :

I should, of course, see no objection whatever to your informing your Committee confidentially of what passed between us at our conversation (I may, incidentally, remark that I asked Mr. Gandhi, after my talk with him, to regard our conversation as confidential, but told him that I had no objection to his informing the Congress Working Committee in confidence of what had passed during it—a course which he has, I gather, adopted). I cannot help feeling, though that must be a point for your consideration in the first instance, that to give publicity to our private and personal memorandum of your ' tentative proposal ' might give rise to some misunderstanding as to the position in relation to the considerations mentioned in my letter to you of July 6. But I am naturally anxious to give you any assistance I can : though I venture to think that the suggestion I have made might prove the most convenient method of dealing with the position.

Mr. Jinnah then assured His Excellency that the League Working Committee had "a fairly good idea" of the points discussed but pressed for permission to inform the general Muslim public through the Press.

Viceroy's Statement of August 8, 1940.

The Viceroy communicated to Mr. Jinnah the text of his statement made on August 8 and observed :

As you will see His Majesty's Government have authorised me to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council, and they have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. I trust sincerely that you and the organisation of which you are the President will be prepared to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council; and I would greatly appreciate it if you are able to let me have a reply by August 21 at the latest. I would hope to have an opportunity of conversation with you in Bombay on August 13 and I suggest that this would be a convenient opportunity to clear the ground for your formal reply. I would only add that I am anxious that the names of the expanded Executive Council should appear not later than the end of August and those of the War Advisory Council by the middle of September at the latest, and if possible earlier than that date.

On August 14, His Excellency wrote :

I think it may be convenient for you to have in writing the information on the points below which I gave you in our conversation today. I informed you in that conversation : first that my statement clearly safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to future constitutional development ; secondly, that it equally provided a basis on which the Muslims could, if they so desired, co-operate at the Centre. As I explained to you in our earlier conversation I cannot yet take up the issue of the provinces : but I do not contemplate non-official advisers, at any rate at this stage.

You asked me the probable strength of the expanded Executive Council. I cannot, for reasons which you will appreciate, yet indicate a precise figure but the total strength of the Council will be likely to be in the neighbourhood of 11. If, as I trust, the Muslim League are prepared to accept my invitation, I would like you to let me have a panel of names, say, four, with a view to my selecting two from it for appointment to my Council. As I have already made clear to you, Sir Zafrulla Khan, if he remains in my Council, will not count against this figure. It is clearly impossible, until the discussions on which I am at present engaged are complete, to indicate precisely what would be the parties represented in the expanded Council.

The strength and composition of the War Advisory Council can clearly only be fixed after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete. Here, too, I should be grateful if you would be good enough to let me have a panel of names for my consideration on the assumption

that there would probably be, say, five Muslim League representatives out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of 20.

As you will appreciate, I am very anxious to take very early decisions in these matters and to reach finality as regards the personnel of the expanded Executive Council and of the Advisory Council at as early a date as possible, and I hope that you will be able to assist me by letting me have a very early reply.

There is, of course, no objection whatever to your communicating the information above to your colleagues confidentially: but I should be grateful if any publicity could be avoided for the present.

Mr. Jinnah acknowledged receipt of this letter and in a further communication dated September 5 enclosed a copy of the Working Committee's resolution of September 2.

In reply, the Viceroy said he was content that the selection of representatives to the Executive Council, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and of other parties) not on a panel but on confidential discussion between the party leader and himself. His Excellency further indicated the impracticability of a final decision as to the total strength of the expanded Council or as to the allocation of portfolios ("a matter which must of course rest entirely with the Governor-General") until the replies of all those who might be invited to serve had been received.

The letter continued :

The general position of His Majesty's Government had been made clear in my statement of August 8 and in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Commons on August 15. It is that His Majesty's Government regard the expansion of my Council and the constitution of a War Advisory Council as steps of the first importance in terms of the association of Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government and of the constitutional machinery of the Government of India pending the post-war investigations, the machinery for which has been indicated in my statement and in Mr. Amery's speech. His Majesty's Government sincerely trust that the Muslim League, like the other parties and interests which they have invited to join the expanded Council and to participate in the War Advisory Council will respond to that invitation. Their collaboration in both those bodies will, of course, be entirely without prejudice to the consideration and decision after the conclusion of the war and, on the basis already indicated in my statement, of the main constitutional issue. But His Majesty's Government trust and anticipate that they and the other parties who are represented in the expanded Council and the War Advisory Council will welcome the opportunity offered to them of influencing the cause of public affairs in the immensely important period which lies ahead, and, in so doing, will, in the working throughout the period of the war of those bodies, find a basis for that general co-operation, with full regard to the interests of all concerned, on which the post-war constitution foreshadowed in my statement and in the Secretary of State's speech can be built.

In his next letter Mr. Jinnah said he would again consult his Committee and made it clear that he proposed to publish the correspondence.

On September 25, His Excellency wrote :

You asked me yesterday to let you have a formal reply before you left for Delhi, to the resolutions which you were kind enough to send me earlier this month and I accordingly send you a formal letter herewith. I have given the most careful consideration since we parted last night as to whether I could devise any form of words such as you mentioned to me which would meet the purpose which you had in view. I warned you, as you will remember, that I anticipated the greatest difficulty in doing so, and I am bound to confess with regret that I have in fact after the most careful thought found it impracticable. But, knowing your mind as I do, I have endeavoured in the last paragraph of my formal letter sent herewith to do what I could to make the general position clear, and I hope that that may be of assistance to you. I trust that in the light of our talks you will now be able to let me have a definite decision once your meeting at Delhi is over, and I trust that that decision may be a favourable one ; for matters have now reached a stage at which it is essential that a definite conclusion should be reached.

The closing letter of the correspondence is from Mr. Jinnah, and it reads :

I thank you for your letter of September 25 and I extremely regret that you are unable to meet me on the point which I raised during the course of our conversation on the 24th, though in the course of the discussions you appreciated and recognised that it was a vital point so far as the Muslim League was concerned—namely, that in the event of any other party deciding later on to be associated with our Executive Council to assist in the prosecution of the war it should be allowed to do so on terms that may be approved of and consented to by the Muslim League Party, as we were entering into so to say, a 'war contract.'

I thank you for your endeavour in the last paragraph of your formal letter to do what you could to make the general position clear, but I am afraid it does not meet the point raised by me and I cannot derive much assistance from it.

4. ' ANOTHER APPROACH TO THE POLITICAL PROBLEM

After his meeting with party leaders on November 1, 1939, Lord Linlithgow made another approach to the political problem early in the month of February 1940, when at his invitation, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah saw His Excellency on Feb. 5 and 6 respectively. Lord Linlithgow indicated that, subject to the consent of the parties affected, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to reopen the Federal scheme so as to expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and added that his offer of the previous November of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council, remained open. A two hours' discussion on the political situation took place with Mr. Gandhi and in the evening the communique below, the text of which had been agreed upon between Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Gandhi, was issued.

I

" In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Gandhi today came to see the Viceroy.

A prolonged and very friendly discussion took place in which the whole position was exhaustively examined.

Mr. Gandhi made it clear at the outset of the conversation that he had no mandate from the Congress Working Committee, that he was not empowered to commit it in any way, and that he could speak on behalf of himself only.

His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and the proposals of His Majesty's Government.

He emphasised in the first place their earnest desire that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection, in particular the issue of Defence in a Dominion position. He made it clear that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came.

He made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible. His Excellency drew attention to the fact that, as he recently repeated at Baroda, the federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion Status, and that its adoption, with the consent of all concerned, would facilitate the solution of many of the problems that had to be faced in that connection.

He added that the offer put forward by him in November last of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis then indicated remained open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to that offer.

Subject to the consent of the parties affected His Majesty's Government would be prepared also to reopen the Federal scheme so as to expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and to facilitate the settlement after the war of the issues to which it gave rise.

Mr. Gandhi expressed appreciation of the spirit in which these proposals were put forward, but made it clear that they did not, in his view, at this stage meet the full demand of the Congress Party. He suggested, and the Viceroy agreed, that in the circumstances it would be preferable to defer for the present further discussions with the object of a solution of the difficulties which had arisen."

II

The following official communique was issued on February 6:

"In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Jinnah today came to see the Viceroy. The conversation which lasted for over an hour, ranged over the whole position.

Mr. Jinnah urged on His Excellency the great importance attached by the Moslem and other minorities to the safeguarding of their position in any settlement or discussions that might take place. His Excellency assured Mr. Jinnah that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the necessity for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities, and that he need be under no apprehension that the importance of those interests would be lost sight of."

5. FREE SPEECH AND WAR EFFORT

In a Resolution on June 21, 1940, the Working Committee of the Congress Party expressed themselves "deeply moved by the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in startling succession, in particular by the misfortunes that have befallen the people of France". They declared: "The problem of the achievement of national freedom has now to be considered along with the allied one of its maintenance and the defence of the country against possible external aggression and internal disorder". Until the people had imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organized non-violence, the Committee found that they were unable to go full length with Mr. Gandhi in his creed of non-violence in all circumstances.

In a resolution on July 7, 1940, the Working Committee noted "the serious happenings which have called forth fresh appeals to bring about a solution of the deadlock in the Indian political situation" and expressed themselves "more than ever convinced that the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the complete independence of India, is the only solution of the problems facing both India and Britain"; and, as an immediate step in giving effect to the status, demanded that a provisional national government be constituted at the centre such as would command the confidence of all elected elements of the Central legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible Governments in Provinces. If these measures were adopted, the Committee declared, "it will enable the Congress to throw its full

weight in the efforts for the effective organization of the defence of the country".

Subsequently, the Working Committee noted Lord Linlithgow's statement of August 8, 1940 and declared in a resolution on August 18 that the British Government had rejected the Party's "friendly offer". By a resolution adopted on September 16, 1940, the All-India Congress Committee restored Mr. Gandhi to leadership of the organization and requested him "to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken".

Thereafter Mr. Gandhi had two conversations with Lord Linlithgow. The correspondence below contains the substance of these conversations and their outcome.

(The failure of these conversations was followed by Mr. Gandhi's campaign of individual Civil Disobedience on the issue of freedom of speech, "the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war." The campaign started on October 17, 1940, with an anti-war speech by a select disciple of Mr. Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, who was allowed to carry on his anti-war propaganda for four days and was arrested on October 21, 1940.)

The Viceroy, in a letter dated September 30, 1940, wrote :

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I think it will be convenient if I record very briefly in writing the origin of the talks we have had on the 27th and 30th September and their outcome.

As you will remember, you wrote to me on the 18th September to ask that I should grant you an interview, and you explained in your letter that you were anxious to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolution of the All-India Congress Committee not only in your capacity as guide of the Congress but as a personal friend. I was, I need not say, most ready to talk things over with you, and we have now had the advantage of two conversations.

In the course of these conversations the situation has been exhaustively discussed, with particular reference to the question of free speech in time of war. On that matter, while professing yourself most anxious to avoid in any way embarrassing His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war, you made it clear to me that you regarded it as essential that the Indian National Congress and other members of the public should be in a position to give full expression to their views in relation to war effort provided only that such expression was fully non-violent.

I indicated to you the nature of the special treatment laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors—which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which, while the conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort.

You made it clear to me that you would not regard treatment of that nature as adequate in the conditions of India, and that you regarded it as essential that in India, where in your judgment conditions were wholly different from those existing in Great Britain, the Indian objector, either to all war as such, or to the participation of India in the present war, should be untrammelled in the expression of his views. It emerged further from our conversation that while you would not yourself preach to workers engaged on war work at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment, you would regard it as essential that it should be open to Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war-effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

I listened with the utmost care and attention to your argument, and our examination of the situation has been full and close. I felt bound, however, in the outcome to make it clear to you that action such as you suggest would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war-effort, but to that embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress state that they are anxious to avoid: and that it would clearly not be possible in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this most critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in the interference with war-effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you had asked.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) LINLITHGOW.

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have your letter of even date.

It fairly sets forth the Congress position as I placed it before you. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the Government have not been able to appreciate the Congress position, meant just to satisfy the bare requirements of the people, whether Congressmen or others who felt a conscientious objection to helping a war to which they were never invited and which they regard, so far as they are concerned, as one for saving imperialism of which India is the greatest victim. Their objection is just as conscientious as mine as a war resister. I cannot claim greater freedom for my conscience than for that of those I have named.

As I made it plain in the course of our talks, the Congress is as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any Britisher can be. But their objection cannot be carried to the extent of their participation in the war.

And since you and the Secretary of State for India have declared that the whole of India is voluntarily helping the war-effort it becomes necessary to make clear that the vast majority of the people of India are not interested in it. They make no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that rules India.

Had His Majesty's Government recognised the freedom required in the special condition of India, they would have justified the claim that they were receiving from India only such effort as they could voluntarily. The war party and the non-war party would have been placed on an equal footing so far as each worked fully non-violently.

As to the last paragraph of your letter, I wish to remind you that it was never contemplated to carry non-embarrassment to the point of self-extinction or, in other words, stopping all national activities—which were designed to make India peace-minded and show that India's participation could not benefit anyone, not excluding Great Britain. Indeed, I hold that if India were left free to make her choice which freedom of speech implied, India would probably have turned the scales in favour of Britain and true liberty by the moral prestige which Britain would have then gained.

I must, therefore, repeat that the Congress does still want to refrain from embarrassing the British Government in their war-effort. But it is impossible for the Congress to make of the policy a fetish by denying its creed at this critical period in the history of mankind. If the Congress has to die, it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

I should like to touch upon the other points I raised in our talks. But for fear of burdening this reply, I refrain. I shall hope to make a public statement on them as early as I can.

In conclusion, let me thank you publicly for the great courtesy and patience with which you listened to my very long statement and argument.

And though our ways seem to diverge for the moment, our personal friendship will, as you have kindly said at the time of saying farewell, bear the strain of divergence.

As arranged, I am handing our correspondence to the Press for publication.

I am, yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

6. THE DISTURBANCES OF 1942

The two years between September 30, 1940, the date of the previous correspondence and August 14, 1942, the date of the earliest letter in the correspondence below, were packed with events. Mr. Gandhi's individual civil disobedience movement started on Oct. 17, 1940 and continued during the greater part of the year 1941. On July 22, 1941, the Governor-General's Executive Council was enlarged, giving Indian members a majority of two to one, and a National Defence Council was established. On December 3, 1941, the Government of India in response to appeals and "confident in the determination of all responsible men in India to support the war-effort until victory is secured," ordered the release of civil disobedience prisoners whose offences had been formal or symbolic in character. On December 30, 1941, the Congress Working Committee noted that the world had fallen "ever deeper into the abyss of war" and the war had approached the frontiers of India, and expressed the opinion that "only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war." In March of the following year, 1942, the War Cabinet's draft declaration was brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps. Failure of his talks with Indian party leaders was followed by Mr. Gandhi's "Quit India" campaign. Meanwhile, on July 3, 1942, was announced a further enlargement of the Executive Council so that it now consisted of twelve non-officials including eleven Indians out of total fifteen Members. On August 8, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee in a resolution declared that "the immediate ending of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and the success of the cause of the United Nations" and that "no future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet the peril," sanctioned "the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale" and requested Mr. Gandhi "to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken." The following day, August 9, Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested in Bombay and simultaneously a round-up of prominent Congressmen throughout the country took place.

From jail Mr. Gandhi exchanged correspondence with Lord Linlithgow. As indicated in the correspondence, Mr. Gandhi went on a fast to capacity on February 10, 1943.

(1)

Mr. Gandhi's Letter to Viceroy

[PERSONAL]

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

New Year's Eve, 1942.

This is a very personal letter. Contrary to the biblical injunction, I have allowed many suns to set on a quarrel I have harboured against you, but I must not allow the old year to expire without disburdening myself of what is rankling in my breast against you. I had thought we were friends and should still love to think so. However, what has happened since the 9th of August last makes me wonder whether you still regard me as a friend. I have perhaps not come in such close touch with any other occupant of your *gadi* as with you.

Your arrest of me, the *communiqué* you issued thereafter, your reply to Rajaji and the reasons given therefor, Mr. Amery's attack on me and much else I can catalogue to show that at some stage or other you must have suspected my *bona fides*. Mention of other Congressmen in the same connexion is by the way. I seem to be the *fons et origo* of all the evil imputed to the Congress. If I have not ceased to be your friend why did you not before taking drastic action, send for me, tell me of your suspicions and make yourself sure of your facts? I am quite capable of seeing myself as others see me but in this case I have failed hopelessly. I find that all the statements made about me in Government quarters in this connexion contain palpable departures from truth. I have so much fallen from grace that I could not establish contact with a dying friend. I mean Prof. Bhansali who is fasting in regard to the Chimur affair, and I am expected to condemn the so-called violence of some people reputed to be Congressmen, although I have no data for such condemnation save the heavily censored reports of newspapers. I must own that I thoroughly distrust these reports. I could write much more but I must not lengthen my tale of woe. I am sure that what I have said is enough to enable you to fill in details.

You know I returned to India from S. Africa at the end of 1914 with a mission which came to me in 1906, namely, to spread truth and non-violence among mankind in the place of violence and falsehood in all walks of life. The law of *satyagraha* knows no defeat. Prison is one of the many ways of spreading the message, but it has its limits. You have placed me in a palace where every reasonable creature comfort is ensured. I have freely partaken of the latter purely as a matter of duty, never as a pleasure, in the hope that some day those that have the power will realise that they have wronged innocent men. I have given myself 6 months. The period is drawing to a close, so is my patience. The law of *satyagraha*, as I know it, prescribes a remedy in such moments of trial. In a sentence it is "crucify the flesh by fasting." That same law forbids its use except as a last resort. I do not want to use it if I can avoid it. This is the way to avoid it. Convince me of my error or errors and I shall make ample amends. You can send for me or send someone who knows your mind and can carry conviction. There are many other ways if you have the will. May I expect an early reply? May the New Year bring peace to us all.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

(2)

The Viceroy's Reply

[PERSONAL]

January 13, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your personal letter of December 31, which I have just received. I fully accept its personal character and I welcome its frankness. And my reply will be as you would wish it to be, as frank and as entirely personal as your letter itself.

I was glad to have your letter, for, to be as open with you as our previous relations justify, I have been profoundly depressed during recent months, first by the policy that was adopted by the Congress in August, secondly, because while that policy gave rise as it was obvious it must, throughout the country to violence and crime (I say nothing of the risks to India from outside aggression) no word of condemnation for that violence and crime should have come from you or from the Working Committee. When you were first at Poona I knew that you were not receiving newspapers, and I accepted that as explaining your silence. When arrangements were made that you and the Working Committee should have such newspapers as you desired I felt certain that the details those newspapers contained of what was happening would shock and distress you as much as it has us all, and that you would be anxious to make your condemnation of it categorical and widely known.

But that was not the case : and it has been a real disappointment to me, all the more when I think of these murders, the burning alive of police officials, the wrecking of trains, the destruction of property, the misleading of these young students which has done so much harm to India's good name, and to the Congress Party. You may take it from me that the newspaper accounts you mention are well-founded—I only wish they were not for the story is a bad one. I well know the immense weight of your great authority in the Congress movement and with the party and those who follow its lead and I wish I could feel, again speaking very frankly, that a heavy responsibility did not rest on you. (And unhappily, while the initial responsibility rests with the leaders, others have to bear the consequences, whether as law-breakers, with the results that that involves, or as the victims).

But if I am right in reading your letter to mean that in the light of what has happened you wish to retrace your steps and dissociate yourself from the policy of last summer you have only to let me know and I will at once consider the matter further, and if I have failed to understand your object you must not hesitate to let me know without delay in what respect I have done so and tell me what positive suggestion you wish to put to me. You know me well enough after these many years to believe that I shall be only too concerned to read with the same close attention as ever any message which I receive from you, to give it the fullest weight, and to approach it with the deepest anxiety to understand your feeling and your motives.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

(3)

Mr. Gandhi's Second Letter

[PERSONAL]

January 19, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I received your kind letter of the 13th instant yesterday at 2-30 p.m. I had almost despaired of ever hearing from you. Please excuse my impatience.

Your letter gladdens me to find that I have not lost caste with you.

My letter of 31st December was a growl against you. Yours is a counter-growl. It means that you maintain that you were right in arresting me and you were sorry for the omissions of which, in your opinion, I was guilty.

The inference you draw from my letter is, I am afraid, not correct. I have re-read your letter in the light of your interpretation but I have failed to find your meaning in it. I wanted to fast and should still want to, if nothing comes out of our correspondence and I have to be a helpless witness to what is going on in the country, including the privations of the millions owing to the universal scarcity stalking the land.

If I do not accept your interpretation of my letter, you want me to make a positive suggestion. This, I might be able to do, only if you put me among the members of the Working Committee of the Congress.

If I could be convinced of my error or worse of which you are evidently aware I should need to consult nobody so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, of 23rd September, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of 14th August, 1942.

Of course, I deplore the happenings which have taken place since 9th August last. But have I not laid the whole blame for them at the door of the Government of India? Moreover, I could not express any opinion on events which I cannot influence or control and of which I have but a one-sided account. You are bound *prima facie* to accept the accuracy of reports that may be placed before you by your departmental heads. But you will not expect me to do so. Such reports have before now often proved fallible. It was for that reason that in my letter of 31st December I pleaded with you to convince me of the correctness of the information on which your conviction was based. You will, perhaps, appreciate my fundamental difficulty in making the statement you have expected me to make.

This, however, I can say from the housetop—that I am as confirmed a believer in non-violence as I have ever been. You may not know that any violence on the part of Congress workers I have condemned openly and unequivocally. I have even done public penance

more than once. I must not worry you with examples. The point I wish to make is that on every such occasion I was a free man.

This time, the retracing as I have submitted lies with the Government. You will forgive me for expressing an opinion challenging yours. I am certain that nothing but good would have resulted if you had stayed your hand and granted me the interview which I had announced on the night of the 8th August I was to seek. But that was not to be. Here, may I remind you that the Government of India have before now owned their mistakes? As for instance, in the Punjab when the late General Dyer was condemned; in the United Provinces when a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was restored; and in Bengal when Partition was annulled. All these things were done in spite of great and previous mob violence.

To sum up :—

If you want me to act singly, convince me that I was wrong and I will make ample amends.

If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of the Congress you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members. I do plead with you to make up your mind to end the impasse.

If I am obscure or have not answered your letter fully please point out the omissions and I shall make an attempt to give you satisfaction.

I have no mental reservation.

I find that my letters to you are sent through the Government of Bombay. This procedure must involve some loss of time. As time is of the essence in this matter, perhaps you will issue instructions that my letters to you may be sent directly by the Superintendent of this camp.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

(4)

H. E. the Viceroy on Congress and the Disturbances

[PERSONAL]

January 25, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Many thanks for your personal letter of the 19th January, which I have just received, and which I need not say I have read with close care and attention. But I am still, I fear, in the dark. I made clear to you in my last letter that, however reluctantly the course of events and my familiarity with what has been taking place has left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement, and you as its authorised and fully empowered spokesman at the time of the decision of last August as responsible for the sad campaign of violence and crime, and revolutionary activity which has done so much harm, and so much injury to India's credit, since last August. I note what you say about non-violence. I am very glad to read your unequivocal condemnation of violence, and I am well aware of the importance which you have given to that article of your creed in the past but the events of these last months, and even the events that are happening today show that it has not met with the full support of certain, at any rate, of your followers, and the mere fact that they may have fallen short of an ideal which you have advocated is no answer to the relations of those who have lost their lives, and to those themselves who have lost their property or suffered severe injury as a result of violent activities on the part of Congress and its supporters. And I cannot, I fear, accept as an answer your suggestion that "the whole blame" has been laid by you yourself at the door of the Government of India. We are dealing with facts in this matter and they have to be faced.

And while, as I made clear in my last letter, I am very anxious to have from you anything that you have to say or any specific proposition that you may have to make, the position remains that it is not the Government of India, but Congress and yourself, that are on their justification in this matter.

If therefore you are anxious to inform me that you repudiate or dissociate yourself from the resolution of the 9th August and the policy which that resolution represents and if you can give me appropriate assurances as regards the future, I shall, I need not say, be very ready to consider the matter further. It is of course very necessary to be clear on that point, and you will not, I know, take it amiss that I should make that clear in the plainest possible words.

I will ask the Governor of Bombay to arrange that any communication from you should be sent through him, which will, I trust, reduce delay in its transmission.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

(5)

Mr. Gandhi's Third Letter

January 29, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I must thank you warmly for your prompt reply to my letter of 19th instant. I wish I could agree with you that your letter is clear. I am sure you do not wish to imply by clearness simply that you hold a particular opinion strongly. I have pleaded and would continue to plead, till the last breath, that you should at least make an attempt to convince me of the validity of the opinion you hold that the August Resolution of the Congress is responsible for the popular violence that broke out on August 9 last and after even though it broke out after the wholesale arrest of principal Congress workers. Was not the drastic and unwarranted action of the Government responsible for the reported violence ?

You have not even said what part of the August Resolution is bad or offensive in your opinion. That Resolution is in no way a retraction by the Congress of its policy of non-violence. It is definitely against Fascism in every shape or form. It tenders co-operation in the war effort under circumstances which alone can make effective and nationwide co-operation possible.

Is all this open to reproach ? Objection may be raised to that clause of the Resolution which contemplated civil disobedience : but that itself cannot constitute an objection since the principle of civil disobedience is impliedly conceded in what is known as the " Gandhi-Irwin Pact " Even that civil disobedience was not to be started before knowing the result of the meeting for which I was to seek from you an appointment.

Then, take the unproved, and in my opinion, unprovable, charges hurled against the Congress and me by so responsible a minister as the Secretary of State for India.

Surely I can say with safety that it is for Government to justify their action by solid evidence not by mere *ipse dixit*.

But you throw in my face the facts of murders by persons reputed to be Congressmen. I see the fact of murders as clearly, I hope, as you do. My answer is that the Government goaded the people to the point of madness. They started leonine violence in the shape of the arrests already referred to. That violence is not any the less so because it is organised on a scale so gigantic that it displaces the Mosaic Law of tooth for tooth by that of 10,000 for one—not to mention the corollary of the Mosaic Law, *i.e.*, of non-resistance as enunciated by Jesus Christ. I cannot interpret in any other manner the repressive measures of the all-powerful Government of India.

Add to this tale of woe the privations of the poor millions due to India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a *bona fide* National Government responsible to a popularly elected assembly.

If then I cannot get soothing balm for my pain I must resort to the law prescribed for *satyagrahis*, namely, a fast according to capacity. I must commence after the early morning breakfast of February 9, a fast for 21 days ending on the morning of March 2. Usually, during my fasts I take water with the addition of salts. But nowadays, my system refuses water. This time, therefore, I propose to add juices of citrus fruit to make water drinkable. For my wish is not to fast unto death, but to survive the ordeal, if God so wills. This fast can be ended sooner by the Government giving the needed relief.

I am not marking this letter personal as I did the two previous ones. They were in no way confidential. They were a mere personal appeal.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

P.S.—The following was inadvertently omitted :—

The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August Resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware, the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Q. A. Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly. Being isolated from the Working Committee except Shrimati Sarojini Devi, I do not know its present mind. But the Committee is not likely to have changed its mind.

(6)

Lord Linlithgow's Reply

February 5, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Many thanks for your letter of January 29, which I have just received. I have read, as always, with great care and with every anxiety to follow your mind and to do full justice to your argument. But I fear that my view of the responsibility of Congress and of yourself personally for the lamentable disorders of last autumn remains unchanged.

2. In my last letter I said that my knowledge of the facts left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement and you as its authorized and fully empowered leader at the time of the decision of last August as responsible for the campaign of violence and crime that subsequently broke out. In reply, you have reiterated your request that I should attempt to convince you that my opinion is correct. I would readily have responded earlier to that request were it not that your letters have no indication, such as I should have been entitled to expect, that you sought the information with an open mind. In each of them you have expressed profound distrust of the published reports of the recent happenings, although in your last letter, on the basis of same information, you have not hesitated to lay the whole blame for

them on the Government of India. In the same letter, you have stated that I cannot expect you to accept the accuracy of the official reports on which I rely. It is not, therefore, clear to me how you expect or even desire me to convince you of anything. But in fact the Government of India have never made any secret of their reasons for holding the Congress and its leaders responsible for the deplorable acts of violence, sabotage and terrorism that have occurred since the Congress Resolution of August 8 declared a "mass struggle" in support of its demands, appointed you as its leader and authorised all Congressmen to act for themselves in the event of interference with the leadership of the movement. A body which passes a Resolution in such terms is hardly entitled to disclaim responsibility for any events that followed it. There is evidence that you and your friends expected this policy to lead to violence and that you were prepared to condone it, and that the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan, conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders. The general nature of the case against the Congress has been publicly stated by the Home Member, Government of India, in his speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 15th September last, and if you need further information I would refer you to it. I enclose a complete copy in case the Press versions that you must have seen were not sufficient. I need only add that all the mass of evidence that has since come to light has confirmed the conclusions then reached. I have ample information that the campaign of sabotage has been conducted under secret instructions, circulated in the name of the All-India Congress Committee; that well-known Congressmen have organised and freely taken part in acts of violence and murder; and that, even now, an underground Congress organisation exists in which, among others, the wife of a member of the Congress Working Committee plays a prominent part, and which is actively engaged in planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism that have disgusted the whole country. If we do not act on all this information, or make it publicly known, it is because the time is not yet ripe; but you may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be met sooner or later, and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear yourselves before the world if you can. And if, in the meanwhile, you yourself by any action such as you now appear to be contemplating, attempt to find an easy way out, the judgment will go against you by default.

3. I have read with some surprise your statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicitly conceded in the Delhi settlement of the 5th March 1931, which you refer to as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact." I have again looked at the document. Its basis was that civil disobedience would be "effectively discontinued" and that certain reciprocal action would be taken by Government. It was inherent in such a document that it should take notice of the existence of civil disobedience. But I can find nothing in it to suggest that civil disobedience was recognised as being in any circumstances legitimate. And I cannot make it too plain that it is not so regarded by my Government.

4. To accept the point of view which you put forward would be to concede that the authorised Government of the country, on which lies the responsibility for maintaining peace and good order, should allow subversive and revolutionary movements, described by you yourself as open rebellion, to take place unchallenged; that they should allow preparations for violence, for the interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for the murder of police officers and others to proceed unchecked. My Government and I are open indeed to the charge that we should have taken drastic action at an earlier stage against you and against the Congress leaders. But my anxiety and that of my Government, has throughout been to give you, and to give the Congress organisation, every possible opportunity to withdraw from the position which you have decided to take up. Your statements of last June and July, the original resolution of the Working Committee of July 14, and your declaration on the same day that there was no room left for negotiations, and that after all, it was an open rebellion, are all of them grave and significant, even without your final exhortation to "do or die." But with a patience that was perhaps misplaced, it was decided to wait until the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee made it clear that there could be no further toleration of the Congress attitude if Government was to discharge its responsibility to the people of India.

5. Let me in conclusion say how greatly I regret, having regard to your health and your age, the decision that you tell me that you now have it in mind to take. I hope and pray that wiser counsels may yet prevail with you. But the decision whether or not to undertake a fast with its attendant risks is clearly one that must be taken by you alone, and the responsibility for which and for its consequences must rest on you alone. I trust sincerely that in the light of what I have said you may think better of your resolution; and I would welcome a decision on your part to think better of it, not only because of my own natural reluctance to see you wilfully risk your life, but because I regard the use of a fast for political purposes as a form of political blackmail (*himsa*) for which there can be no moral justification, and understood from your own previous writings that this was also your view.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

(7)

Mr. Gandhi's Fourth Letter

February 7, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have to thank you for your long reply dated February 5 last. I would take your last point first, namely, the contemplated fast which begins on February 9. Your letter, from a *satyagrahi's* standpoint, is an invitation to fast. No doubt the responsibility for the step, and its consequences will be solely mine. You have allowed an expression to slip from your pen for which I was unprepared. In the concluding sentence of the second paragraph you describe the step as an attempt "to find an easy way out." That you, as a friend, can impute such a base and cowardly motive to me passes comprehension. You have also described it as "a form of political blackmail." And you quote my previous writings on the subject against me. I abide by my writings. I hold that there is nothing inconsistent in them with the contemplated step. I wonder whether you have yourself read those writings.

I do claim that I have approached you with an open mind when I asked you to convince me of my error. "Profound distrust" of the published reports is in no way inconsistent with my having an open mind.

You say that there is evidence that I—I leave my friends out for the moment—"expected this policy to lead to violence," that I was "prepared to condone it," and that "the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders." I have seen no evidence in support of such a serious charge. You admit that part of the evidence has yet to be published. The speech of the Home Member, of which you have favoured me with a copy, may be taken as the opening speech of the prosecution counsel and nothing more. It contains unsupported imputations against Congressmen. Of course, he has described the violent outburst in graphic language; but he has not said why it took place when it did. You have condemned men and women before trying them and hearing their defence. Surely, there is nothing wrong in my asking you to show me the evidence on which you hold them guilty. What you say in your letter carries no conviction. Proof should correspond to the canons of English jurisprudence.

If the wife of a member of the Working Committee is actively engaged in "planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism," she should be tried before a court of law and punished if found guilty. The lady you refer to could only have done things attributed to her after the wholesale arrests of August 9 last, which I have dared to describe as a leonine violence.

You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? Or that some of the condemned persons might have died in the mean-

while, or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable?

I reiterate the statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicitly conceded in the settlement of March 5, 1931, arrived at between the then Viceroy on behalf of the Government of India and myself on behalf of the Congress. I hope you know that the principal Congressmen were discharged before that settlement was even thought of. Certain reparations were made to Congressmen under that settlement. Civil disobedience was discontinued on certain conditions being fulfilled by the Government. That by itself was, in my opinion, an acknowledgment of its legitimacy, of course under given circumstances. It, therefore, seems somewhat strange to find you maintain that civil disobedience "cannot be recognised as being in any circumstances legitimate" by your Government. You ignore the practice of the British Government which has recognised this legitimacy under the name of "passive resistance."

Lastly you read into my letters a meaning which is wholly inconsistent with my declaration, in one of them, of adherence to unadulterated non-violence, for, you say in your letter under reply that "acceptance of my point of view would be to concede that the authorised Government of the country on which lies the responsibility for maintaining peace and good order, should allow movements to take place that would admit preparations for violence, interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for murders of police officers and others to proceed unchecked." I must be a strange friend of yours whom you believe to be capable of asking for recognition of such things as lawful.

I have not attempted an exhaustive reply to the views and statements attributed to me. This is not the place, nor the time, for such a reply. I have only picked out those things which, in my opinion, demanded an immediate answer. You have left me no loophole for escaping the ordeal I have set before myself. I begin it on February 9 with the clearest possible conscience. Despite your description of it as "a form of political blackmail," it is on my part meant to be an appeal to the highest tribunal for justice which I have failed to secure from you. If I do not survive the ordeal, I shall go to the Judgment Seat with the fullest faith in my innocence. Posterity will judge between you as representative of an all-powerful Government and me as a humble man who has tried to serve his country and humanity through it.

My last letter was written against time, and, therefore, a material paragraph went in as postscript. I now send herewith a fair copy typed by Pearey Lal who has taken Mahadeo Desai's place. You will find the postscript paragraph restored to the place where it should have been.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

ANNEXURES

The following annexures containing Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy dated Aug. 14, 1942, the Viceroy's reply thereto, and Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, New Delhi, were released for publication with the foregoing correspondence.

ANNEXURE I**Mr. Gandhi's Letter**

August 14, 1942.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The Government of India were wrong in precipitating the crisis. The Government resolution justifying this step is full of distortions and misrepresentations. That you have the approval of your Indian colleagues can have no significance except this that in India you can always command such services. That co-operation is an additional justification for the demand of withdrawal irrespective of what people and parties may say.

The Government of India should have waited at least till the time I inaugurated mass action. I have publicly stated that I fully contemplated sending you a letter before taking concrete action. It was to be an appeal to you for an impartial examination of the Congress case. As you know the Congress has readily filled in every omission that has been discovered in the conception of its demand. So could I have dealt with every difficulty if you had given me the opportunity. The precipitate action of the Government leads one to think that they were afraid that the extreme caution and gradualness with which the Congress was moving towards direct action might make world opinion veer round to the Congress as it had already begun doing, and expose the hollowness of the grounds for the Government's rejection of the Congress demand. They should surely have waited for an authentic report of my speeches on Friday and on Saturday night after the passing of the resolution by the A.I.C.C. You would have found in them that I would not hastily begin action. You should have taken advantage of the interval foreshadowed in them, and explored every possibility of satisfying the Congress demand.

The resolution says: "The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wiser counsels might prevail. They have been disappointed in that hope." I suppose "wiser counsels" here means abandonment of its demand by the Congress. Why should the abandonment of the demand, legitimate at all times, be hoped for by a Government pledged to guarantee independence to India? Is it a challenge that could only be met by immediate repression instead of patient reasoning with the demanding party? I venture to suggest that it is a long draft upon the credulity of mankind to say that the acceptance of the demand would plunge India into confusion. Anyway the summary rejection of the demand *has* plunged the nation and the

Government into confusion. The Congress was making every effort to identify India with the Allied cause.

The Government resolution says: "The Governor-General in Council has been aware too for some days past of dangerous preparations by the Congress Party for unlawful and, in some cases, violent activities directed among other things to interruption of communications and public utility services, the organisation of strikes, tampering with the loyalty of Government servants and interference with defence measures including recruitment." This is a gross distortion of the reality. Violence was never contemplated at any stage. A definition of what could be included in non-violent action has been interpreted in a sinister and subtle manner, as if the Congress was preparing for violent action. Everything was openly discussed among Congress circles for nothing was to be done secretly. And why is it tampering with your loyalty if I ask you to give up a job which is harming the British people?

Instead of publishing behind the backs of principal Congressmen the misleading paragraphs, the Government, immediately they came to know of the "preparation" should have brought to book the parties concerned with the preparations. That would have been the appropriate course. By their unsupported allegations in the resolution they have laid themselves open to the charge of unfair dealing.

The Congress movement was intended to evoke in the people the measure of sacrifice sufficient to compel attention. It was intended to demonstrate what measure of popular support it had. Was it wise at this time of the day to seek to suppress a popular movement avowedly non-violent?

The Government resolution further says: "The Congress is not India's mouthpiece. Yet in the interests of securing their own dominance and in pursuit of their totalitarian policy its leaders have constantly impeded the efforts made to bring India to full nationhood." It is a gross libel thus to accuse the oldest national organisation of India. This language lies ill in the mouth of a Government which has, as can be proved from published records, consistently thwarted every national effort for attaining freedom, and sought to suppress the Congress by hook or by crook.

The Government of India have not condescended to consider the Congress offer that if simultaneously with the declaration of the independence of India, they could not trust the Congress to form a stable provisional Government, they should ask the Muslim League to do so and that any national government formed by the League would be loyally accepted by the Congress. Such an offer is hardly consistent with the charge of totalitarianism against the Congress.

Let me examine the Government offer. "It is that as soon as hostilities cease, India shall devise for herself with full freedom of decision and on a basis embracing all and not only a single party, the form of government which she regards as most suited to her conditions." Has this offer any reality about it? All parties have not agreed now. Will it be any more possible after the war? And if the parties have to

act before independence is in their hands? Parties grow up like mushrooms, for without proving their representative character, the Government will welcome them as they have done in the past and if they, the parties, oppose the Congress and its activities, though they may do lip homage to independence, frustration is inherent in the Government offer. Hence the logical cry of withdrawal first. Only after the end of British power and a fundamental change in the political status of India from bondage to freedom, will the formation of a truly representative Government, whether provisional or permanent, be possible. The living burial of the author of the demand has not resolved the deadlock, it has aggravated it.

Then the resolution proceeds:—"The suggestion put forward by the Congress Party that the millions of India, uncertain as to the future, are ready, despite the sad lessons of so many martyr countries, to throw themselves into the arms of the invaders, is one that the Government of India cannot accept as a true representation of the feeling of the people of this great country." I do not know about the millions, but I can give my own evidence in support of the Congress statement.

It is open to the Government not to believe the Congress evidence. No imperial power likes to be told that it is in peril. It is because the Congress is anxious for Great Britain to avoid the fate that has overtaken other imperial powers that it asked her to shed imperialism voluntarily by declaring India independent. The Congress has not approached the movement with any but the friendliest motives. The Congress seeks to kill imperialism as much for the sake of the British people and humanity as for India. Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary I maintain that the Congress has no interests of its own, apart from that of the whole of India and the world.

The following passage from the peroration in the resolution is interesting:—"But on them lies the task of defending India, of maintaining India's capacity to wage war, of safeguarding India's interests, of holding the balance between the different sections of her people without fear or favour." All I can say is that it is a mockery of truth after the experience of Malaya, Singapore and Burma. It is sad to find the Government of India claiming to hold the "balance" between the parties for which it is itself demonstrably responsible.

One thing more. The declared cause is common between the Government of India and us. To put it in the most concrete terms, it is the protection of the freedom of China and Russia. The Government of India think that the freedom of India is not necessary for winning the cause. I think exactly the opposite. I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can—and may I say than even you can. In that misery he tried to forget his old quarrel with imperialism. He dreads much more than I do the success of Fascism and Nazism. I have argued with him for days together. He fought against my position with a passion which I have no words to describe. But the logic of facts

overwhelmed him. He yielded when he saw clearly that without the freedom of India that of the other two was in great jeopardy. Surely you are wrong in having imprisoned such a powerful friend and ally. If, notwithstanding the common cause, the Government's answer to the Congress demand is hasty repression, they will not wonder if I draw the inference that it was not so much the Allied cause that weighed with the British Government as the unexpressed determination to cling to the possession of India as an indispensable part of imperial policy. This determination led to the rejection of the Congress demand and precipitated repression. The present mutual slaughter on a scale never before known to history is suffocating enough. But the slaughter of truth accompanying the butchery and enforced by the falsity of which the resolution is reeking adds strength to the Congress position.

It causes me deep pain to have to send you this long letter. But, however much I dislike your action I remain the same friend you have known me. I would still plead for reconsideration of the Government of India's whole policy. Do not disregard the pleading of one who claims to be a sincere friend of the British people. Heaven guide you !

I am, yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI.

ANNEXURE II

The Viceroy's Reply

August 22, 1942.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you very much for your letter, dated August 14, which reached me only a day or two ago.

I have read, I need not say, what you have been good enough to say in your letter with very close attention, and I have given full weight to your views. But I fear in the result that it would not be possible for me either to accept the criticisms which you advance of the resolution of the Governor-General in Council, or your request that the whole policy of the Government of India should be reconsidered.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

ANNEXURE III

Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Secretary, Government of India (Home Department) :—

September 23, 1942.

Sir,

In spite of the chorus of approval sung by the Indian Councillors and others of the present Government policy in dealing with the Congress, I venture to assert that, had the Government but awaited my contemplated letter to H.E. the Viceroy and the result thereafter no calamity would have overtaken the country. The reported deplorable destruction would have most certainly been avoided.

In spite of all that has been said to the contrary I claim that the Congress policy still remains unequivocally non-violent. The wholesale arrest of the Congress leaders seems to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control. I feel that the Government, not the Congress, are responsible for the destruction that has taken place. The only right course for the Government seems to me to be to release the Congress leaders, withdraw all repressive measures and explore ways and means of conciliation. Surely the Government have ample resources to deal with any overt act of violence. Repression can only breed discontent and bitterness.

Since I am permitted to receive newspapers, I feel that I owe it to the Government to give my reaction to the said happenings in the country. If the Government think that as a prisoner I have no right to address such communications, they have but to say so, and I will not repeat the mistake.

I am, yours etc.,

M. K. GANDHI.

(NOTE :—A formal acknowledgment was sent to this letter.)

Correspondence between the Additional Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department and Mr. Gandhi :

(1)

Sir Richard Tottenham's Letter

February 7, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

The Government of India have been informed by H.E. the Viceroy of your intention as communicated to him of undertaking a fast for 21 days in certain circumstances. They have carefully considered the position, and the conclusions that they have reached in the light of such consideration are set out in the statement of which a copy is enclosed, which they would propose, in the event of your maintaining your present intention, to release in due course to the Press.

The Government of India, as you will see from their statement, would be very reluctant to see you fast, and I am instructed to inform you that, as the statement makes clear, they would propose that, should you persist in your intention, you will be set at liberty for the purpose, and for the duration, of your fast as from the time of its commencement. During the period of your fast, there will be no objection to your proceeding where you wish, though the Government of India trust that you will be able to arrange for your accommodation away from the Aga Khan's Palace.

Should you for any reason find yourself unable to take advantage of these arrangements, a decision which the Government of India would greatly regret, they will, of course, suitably amend the statement of which a copy is now enclosed before it issues. But they wish me to repeat, with all earnestness, their anxiety and their hope that the considerations which have carried so much weight with them will equally carry weight with you, and that you will not pursue your present tentative proposal. In that event no occasion will of course arise for the issue of any statement of any kind.

Yours sincerely,

R. TOTTENHAM.

(2)

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

February 8, 1943.

Dear Sir Richard,

I have very carefully studied your letter. I am sorry to say that there is nothing in the correspondence which has taken place between His Excellency and myself or your letter to warrant a recalling of my intention to fast. I have mentioned in my letters to H.E. the conditions which can induce prevention or suspension of the step.

If the temporary release is offered for my convenience, I do not need it. I shall be quite content to take my fast as a detenu or prisoner. If it is for the convenience of the Government, I am sorry I am unable to suit them, much as I should like to do so. I can say this much, that I, as a prisoner, shall avoid, as far as is humanly possible, every cause of inconvenience to the Government save what is inherent in the fast itself.

The impending fast has not been conceived to be taken as a free man. Circumstances may arise, as they have done before now, when I may have to fast as a free man. If, therefore, I am released, there will be no fast in terms of my correspondence above-mentioned. I shall have to survey the situation *de novo* and decide what I should do. I have no desire to be released under false pretences.

In spite of all that has been said against me, I hope not to belie the vow of truth and non-violence which alone makes life livable for me. I say this if it is only for my own satisfaction. It does me good to reiterate openly my faith when outer darkness surrounds me as it does just now.

I must not hustle the Government into a decision on this letter. I understand that your letter has been dictated through the telephone. In order to give the Government enough time, I shall suspend the fast if necessary, to Wednesday next, 10th instant.

So far as the statement proposed to be issued by the Government is concerned, and of which you have favoured me with a copy, I can have no opinion. But, if I might have, I must say that it does me an injustice. The proper course would be to publish the full correspondence and let the public judge for themselves.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

(3)

Sir Richard Tottenham on Government's Position

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

February 9, 1943.

I am instructed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 8, 1943, which has been laid before the Governor-General in Council. The Government of India noted your decision with great regret. Their position remains the same, that is to say, they are ready to set you at liberty for the purpose and duration of your fast. But, if you are not prepared to take advantage of that fact, and if you fast while in detention, you will do so solely on your own responsibility and at your own risk. In that event you will be at liberty to have your own medical attendants and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of the Government during its period. Suitable drafting alterations will be made in the statement which the Government of India would, in that event, issue to the Press.

Yours sincerely,

R. TOTTENHAM.

UBIQUITOUS VIRTUES.

Mr. Gandhi wrote to Lord Linlithgow on September 27, 1943, as follows :—

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

On the eve of your departure from India I would like to send you a word. Of all the high functionaries I have had the honour of knowing none has been the cause of such deep sorrow to me as you have been. It has cut me to the quick to have to think of you as having countenanced untruth, and that regarding one whom you at one time considered as your friend. I hope and pray that God will some day put it into your heart to realize that you, a representative of a great nation, had been led into a grievous error.

With good wishes, I still remain,

Your friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

To the above Lord Linlithgow replied marked " Personal ", dated October 7, 1943 :—

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have received your letter of 27th September. I am indeed sorry that your feelings about any deeds or words of mine should be as you describe. But I must be allowed, as gently as I may, to make plain to you that I am quite unable to accept your interpretation of the events in question.

As for the corrective virtues of time and reflection, evidently they are ubiquitous in their operation, and wisely to be rejected by no man.

I am sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

APPENDIX I

RESIGNATION OF TWO MINISTRIES

A White Paper presented by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament in February 1938 on the subject of resignation of Ministries in Bihar and the United Provinces on the issue of release of political prisoners, contained the Governor-General's statement of February 22, 1938, which appears on page 140 of this volume, and the following orders, minutes, etc. :—

Text of Order for Release of Prisoners passed by Prime Minister of Bihar (on February 14, 1938) :—

“ There are still quite a good number of political prisoners in jails of the Province. These prisoners have publicly renounced their faith in violence, and have also given written assurances to that effect. After the Bihar prisoners in the Andamans were repatriated to India I saw these political prisoners in Hazaribagh and Bhagalpur jails with a view to knowing their minds. From my talks with them I felt convinced that they have given up their creed of violence. The political prisoners have all over the world, on such occasions, been treated differently from other criminals and, even in the interests of ensuring peace and tranquillity, it is necessary that Government should show its appreciation of this welcome change in them by making a noble and statesmanlike gesture. By making such a gesture we shall only be making more zealous converts of them to the creed of non-violence, and will ensure peace and tranquillity in the Province. This gesture should take the form of a general release of them. It is after very careful and anxious consideration that I have come to this conclusion ; I tried my best to understand if special responsibilities of Governor or Governor-General at all came in, and I feel convinced that it is not so. I, therefore, order that following political prisoners should be released forthwith. (Here followed names of 23 terrorist prisoners given in statement below.) Orders are to issue today, and I should get a report by 4 p.m. that orders have issued. Besides the above there are a few prisoners left, regarding whom it is not yet settled if they are political prisoners. Orders regarding them will be passed later on.”

Governor of Bihar's Minute on Prime Minister's Order.

“ The minute by the Honourable Prime Minister dated 14th February, 1938, received by me at 1 p.m. containing a direction to the Chief Secretary to issue by 4 p.m. today orders for release forthwith of 23 political prisoners, has been submitted to me by the Chief Secretary in accordance with the Rules of Business. The question was discussed at a meeting of the Council of Ministers held on the morning of 12th February, 1938, at which the Council agreed with the views of the Honourable Prime Minister as recapitulated in the minute, and with the proposal to prepare an order regarding the release of these

political prisoners, which will be submitted to His Excellency the Governor as is prescribed by Rules of Business.

This proposal by the Prime Minister and his colleagues has been rightly brought to my notice. I did at the meeting on 12th February explain, as I had done on previous occasions, that in my view the appropriate course is to examine cases on their merits and discuss individual releases, rather than to direct a general release of all remaining prisoners. In view of definite recommendation now made to me by the Honourable Prime Minister in accordance with opinion of the Council, it is necessary for me to consider what action should be taken in the light of their advice. In particular as I made clear at the meeting, and also to the Honourable Prime Minister on other occasions, it appears to me that the proposal for an immediate release of all the remaining political prisoners involves issues of more than a purely provincial significance. It will, I think, be recognised that it is not possible for me to deal finally with this matter in the short period suggested by the Honourable Prime Minister."

Communique issued by the Governor of the United Provinces :

(Note.—In the United Provinces the Ministers informed the Governor of their decision to release their political prisoners but did not issue any written orders in the matter. Consequently the Governor did not record any minute as was the case in Bihar but issued the following statement to the Press on 16th February.)

At the end of August, His Excellency the Governor agreed to release the prisoners convicted in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy case in which a number of murders and robberies were committed.

Their release was followed by a widespread demonstration of a revolutionary character including the incitement of the people to violence as a result of which the policy of gradually releasing prisoners guilty of acts of violence was temporarily suspended.

As a result of this counter-action taken by the Government the atmosphere improved and the question of the release of the remaining prisoners was taken up again in January, the Governor expressing his willingness to consider the release of individual prisoners on examination of their records.

The Ministers felt unable to accept this course and formally advised the Governor to agree to the immediate release of 15 prisoners of whom six had been actively engaged in the terrorist movement and the remainder had been convicted of robbery with violence.

The Governor drew the attention of the Ministers to the serious nature of the issue involved but the latter were unable to modify their advice and the Governor accordingly referred the matter to the Governor-General.

The Governor-General thereupon issued instructions to him under Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act. In the light of

these instructions, the Governor found himself unable to accept the advice of the Ministers who consequently tendered their resignations.

The Governor replied that before accepting the resignations he must consider alternative arrangements to enable the King's Government to be carried on.

Instruction from Governor-General to Governors of Bihar and United Provinces by Telegram dated 15th February.

I have carefully considered position in relation to my own responsibilities, but, with a full sense of gravity of the issues involved, I have no choice but to instruct you under the provisions of Section 126 (5)* that, despite the advice in the contrary sense of your Ministers, you should decline to agree to the proposed general release of your "political" prisoners.

STATEMENT OF MINISTRIES IN BIHAR AND UNITED PROVINCES.

(A) *Letter from Bihar Ministry to Governor of Bihar, February 15, 1938 :*

Having considered Your Excellency's note of 15th February, 1938, in connection with release of political prisoners, we have decided to resign our office, which we hereby do. We feel that conditions in which power in discharging special responsibilities in respect of peace and order could be legitimately exercised, do not exist in the Province. Nor are they likely to arise after release of 23 political prisoners on which, on grounds of policy and principle, we have insisted. We are not prepared to agree that release of these prisoners would have affected peace and tranquillity anywhere outside Bihar either. In this view of the matter we cannot but regard action of His Excellency the Governor-General, in a matter which is the primary concern of the Provincial Government, as a grave breach of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. It is, therefore, no longer possible for us to continue in office. We are not prepared to submit to the course adopted by His Excellency the Governor and we have no alternative but to decline to be in office under such conditions. We therefore place our resignation in Your Excellency's hands.

(B) *Letter from Prime Minister of the United Provinces to Governor of the United Provinces, February 15, 1938 :*

As Your Excellency intimated to me and my colleagues that, in compliance with order issued to you by the Governor-General under

* § 126 (5) "Without prejudice to his powers under the last preceding sub-section, the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, may at any time issue orders to the Governor of a Province as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof."

Section 126 (5)* of Government of India Act, you are bound to reject the advice which we thought it our duty to tender to you in regard to the release of political prisoners, we think the only course open to us is to tender our resignations, which we hereby do. The issue now raised is of the widest importance both from the constitutional and the administrative points of view. The release of political prisoners has formed a prominent part of Congress programme throughout. It was distinctly mentioned in Congress election manifesto and the electorate in overwhelming numbers has supported the demand of Congress. It was again urged in resolution passed by the Convention in Delhi in March last year. The British Government must therefore have been fully aware of Congress policy and its implication in regard to this matter. It is unthinkable that Governor-General should not have realised that Congress, whenever it accepted office, would take the earliest opportunity to implement Congress programme and to honour its pledges. The Congress was invited to accept office with full knowledge of these facts. An assurance was also definitely held out that Congress in office would be free to carry out its programme. It is exceedingly strange, that when, after prolonged and patient consideration and discussion we proceed to give effect to Congress policy, the Governor-General issues his orders under Section 126 to thwart the Congress Ministry in this Province in this matter. The reasons which have weighed with the Governor-General in taking this decision are not known to us, and in spite of our request to Your Excellency you expressed your inability to disclose them to us. The responsibility for maintaining law and order in the Province is that of Ministers. No Council of Ministers can discharge its functions satisfactorily if its considered opinion is disregarded arbitrarily in respect of momentous questions, strictly falling within their purview, by outside authority, and when even the courtesy of mentioning the grounds on which such interference is sought is not shown to it. It is inconceivable that release of no more than 15 political prisoners, some of whom were merely boys when they were convicted, and several of whom have undergone long terms of imprisonment and are due to be released within a few months in the usual course, can be a grave menace to peace and tranquillity of any Province in India. We have every reason to believe and are definitely assured that they have abjured the path of violence. The jail authorities have a similar impression after a close observation of individual prisoners in their charge. We have discussed this question on numerous occasions with Your Excellency and we are inclined to believe that you have come at least to appreciate our point of view. The decision of the Governor-General is attributed to extra-provincial affairs and it is significant that action has been taken under Section 126 and not under Section 54, which suggests that Governor of the Province does not consider that there is any

* § 126 (5) "Without prejudice to his powers under the last preceding sub-section, the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, may at any time issue orders to the Governor of a Province as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof."

menace to peace and tranquillity inside the Province itself. There is an insistent demand in the country for the release of these prisoners and it has been forcefully voiced in our own Assembly by all sections from time to time. Their non-release is apt to disturb peaceful atmosphere, to engender tension and to hamper growth of non-violence spirit. The Government of Burma has recently released all the rebellion prisoners. A general release of all political prisoners followed in 1921, immediately after the introduction of dyarchy in the Province. We have had occasion to discuss this question in all its aspects with you during the last seven months. While there have been hunger strikes in every other Province, the prisoners here have refrained from doing so and have reposed their trust in us. We had far-reaching and comprehensive programme for agrarian reforms, rural developments, jail reforms, overhaul of local self-governing bodies, education, prohibition and excise reforms, and several other large issues which called for a tranquil atmosphere for their solution. This interference on the part of the Governor-General in the ordinary administration of the Province raises a constitutional issue of gravest import and, instead of promoting peace and tranquillity, is likely to imperil it, not only in this Province but elsewhere in India also. In our considered judgment their release is essential in public interest, and Governor-General has, by his orders, disabled us from performing our elementary duty in this respect. We look upon this interference as an utter abuse, even of provisions of Section 126 (5), and it brings vividly home to us the unsubstantial character of autonomy which Provinces are supposed to enjoy, when advice of Council of Ministers can be trampled upon by one entirely outside the Province, and having no direct contact with it, and not a live part in its affairs. In the circumstances there is no alternative to the course which we have taken and we would request you to accept this resignation.*

*(The list of the prisoners in question,
appears on the following two pages.)*

* The difficulties were resolved subsequently and the Ministers resumed office.

The Prisoners and Their Sentences Bihar

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Name.	Age.	Sentence Length (in years).	Date.	Offence.
1. Jogendra Sukul ..	40	10	October 1931	Dacoity with murder.
2. Kedarmoni Sukul ..	32	10	March 1932	Criminal conspiracy to commit dacoity.
3. Surajnaath Chaube ..	26	10	October 1931	Dacoity with murder.
4. Kanhai Lal Missir ..	36	Life	1932	} Terrorist conspiracy, Sentenced under S. 121A, Indian Penal Code.
5. Shyam Agarwala ..	25	Life	1932	
6. Shamdeo Narain ..	29	Life	1932	
7. Mahant Ram Raman Das ..	41	10	August 1933	
8. Sakaldip Raut ..	35	Life	August 1932	Criminal conspiracy to commit dacoity and offences under Explosives Act.
9. Rampratap Singh ..	37	Life	August 1932	Train wrecking.
10. Ram Prasad Singh ..	Not known.	Life	August 1932	Dacoity with murder.
11. Lekh Narain Lall ..	18	6	March 1935	Offences under Explosives Act.
12. Dayanand Jha ..	33	14	} March 1936	Offences under Explosives Act.
13. Shiva Kant Misra ..	29	14		
14. Brahmdeo Narayan Thakur ..	31	14	} May 1934	Attempted murder.
15. Chandra Kant Misra ..	25	5		
16. Chandrika Singh ..	27	Life	May 1934	Offences under Explosives Act and for criminal conspiracy.
17. Ragho Prasad ..	} About 19	5	May 1937	Offences under Explosives Act.
18. Panna Lal ..		5	April 1937	
19. Ram Babu ..	Not known.	5	} September 1937	Offences under Explosives Act.
20. Ahjani Kumar Singh ..	Not known.	5		
21. Sheo Prasad ..	22	21	} September 1937	Offences under Explosives Act.
22. Satya Narayan Misra ..	19	31		
23. Rajendra Prasad ..	54	21		

The United Provinces

Name.	Age.	Sentence Length (in years).	Date.	Offence.
1. Yashpal	33	14	March 1932	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
2. Halder Bajpai	30	6	December 1932	Attempted murder.
3. Rajendra Prasad Nigam	29	9	November 1932	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
4. Chandra Man Singh	28	7	January 1943	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
5. Ramesh Chandra Gupta	25	10	December 1931	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
6. Desraj Singh	30	3	June 1936	Offences under Arms Act.
7. Kanta Prasad	38	7	February 1932	Offences under Arms Act.
8. Balak Ram	24	7	1937	Attempted murder (not for political motive).
9. Jogeshwar	26	14	August 1933	For possessing bombs and explosives.
10. Puttu Singh	32	6	August 1932	For possessing coluing implements and explosives.
11. Roshan Singh	23	1½	1937	Mail robbery and hurt.
12. Ram Sahai	23	1½	1937	Mail robbery and hurt.
13. Gurcharan Singh	33	10 years 10 months.	February 1929	Various offences of cheating and under Explosives Substances Act.
14. Ganga Prasad	23	4	1936	Dacoity.
15. Asutosh Ganguli	27	1 year 3 months	August 1937	For taking part in the operations of an unlawful association, the Communist Party of India, and offences under the Press Emergency Powers Act.

APPENDIX II

**THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—ENLARGEMENT
IN 1941.**

By a communique dated July 22, 1941, the number of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council was increased from seven to twelve. The members of the Executive Council had been four Europeans and three Indians, apart from the Governor-General; in the new Council, the number of Indian members was eight and they were in a majority of two to one.

It was, said the Secretary of State for India in the Commons on August 1, 1941, "a change not indeed in the form of the Constitution but in its spirit".

At the same time, "to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war", a National Defence Council was established.

On this Council for the first time, Indian Princes sat with representatives of British India as members of the regularly constituted all-India body for the prosecution of a common purpose.

Of the 22 seats for British India, three went each to the major Provinces (Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U.P. and the Punjab) and one each to the remaining Provinces, besides one seat for Anglo-Indians. Muslims were represented by four Prime Ministers besides a former Acting Governor and the Speaker of the North-West Frontier Province Assembly and by the only lady representative, Begum Shah Nawaz.

Commerce was represented by Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Mr. Morton, the Kumararajah of Chettinad and Mr. Biren Mukerjee.

Labour by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Dr. Ambedkar.

Landholders by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Nawab of Chhatari and the Raja Bahadur of Khallikote.

Women by Begum Shah Nawaz.

Military interests by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan.

Minority communities were also represented, *e.g.*, Parsis—Sir Cowasjee Jehangir; Scheduled Castes—Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Rajah; Anglo-Indians—Sir Henry Gidney; Indian Christians—Prof. Ahmed Shah.

Text of the communique of July 22, 1941:

"As a result of the increased pressure of work in connection with the War it has been decided to enlarge the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India in order to permit the separation of portfolios of Law and Supply and of Commerce and Labour; the division of the present portfolio of Education, Health and Lands into separate portfolios of Education, Health and Lands and Indians

Overseas ; and the creation of portfolios of Information and of Civil Defence. His Majesty the King has approved the following appointments to the five new seats on the Council :—

Member for Supply—Sir Hormusji P. Mody, K.B.E., M.L.A. (Central).

Member for Information—The Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C.

Member for Civil Defence—Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao.

Member for Labour—Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.I.E.

Member for Indians Overseas—Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central).

For the vacancies which will occur when Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai take up the posts to which they have recently been appointed, His Majesty has approved the appointment of :—

Sir Sultan Ahmed to be Law Member, and

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, M.L.A., to be Member for Education, Health and Lands.

National Defence Council.

In pursuance of the desire of His Majesty's Government to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war, approval, on the recommendation of the Viceroy, has also been given to the establishment of a National Defence Council, the first meeting of which will take place next month. The Council, the strength of which will be about 30 members, will include representatives of Indian States as well as of provinces and of other elements in the national life of British India in its relation to the war effort.

The following will be the members from British India :—

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.A. ;

The Hon'ble Maulavi Saiyid Sir Mohammed Saadulla, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Assam ;

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Bengal ;

Sir Mohammed Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E. ;

Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiyar of Chettinad, M.L.A. ;

The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E. ;

Mr. Ramarao Madhavrao Deshmukh, M.L.A. ;

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, M.L.A. ;

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A. ;

The Raja Bahadur of Khallikote, M.L.A. ;

The Hon'ble Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A. ;

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, M.L.A. ;

Mr. G. B. Morton, O.B.E. ;

Mr. Biren Mukerjee ;

Lieut. Sardar Naunihal Singh Man, M.B.E., M.L.A. ;

Begum Shah Nawaz, M.L.A. ;

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Major Sirdar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, K.B.E., M.L.A., Premier of the Punjab ;

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah ;

Professor E. Ahmad Shah ;

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Mohammed Umar Soomro, O.B.E., M.L.A., Chief Minister of Sind ;

Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, M.L.A., and

Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E. "

The names of the Indian States members were announced separately.

APPENDIX III

THE CRIPPS PROPOSALS.

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him for discussion with Indian Leaders in March, 1942:—

“ His Majesty's Government having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following Declaration :—

- (a) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.
- (b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body.
- (c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject to :—
 - (i) The right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.
 - (ii) The signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands ; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities ;

but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

- (d) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :—

Immediately upon the result being known of Provincial Elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 1/10th of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

- (e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India."

APPENDIX IV

FURTHER ENLARGEMENT OF THE COUNCIL.

A Press Note dated New Delhi, July 3, 1942, announced :

For the second time since the outbreak of the war the Viceroy's Executive Council has been expanded. The need to create a membership for Defence, to provide for India's representation at the War Cabinet and in the Pacific War Council and to divide the heavy single charge of Communications has involved the addition of three members to the Council's present strength.

As in the previous expansion of 1941, the purpose of the present expansion is to associate representative Indian opinion more closely in the conduct of the war and to provide for the increasing burden of war work, within the framework of the present constitution.

Membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council has been increased from 12 to 15, with eleven non-official Indians, one non-official European and three European officials (including the Commander-in-Chief). On the outbreak of the war the strength of the Council was seven, with three Indian members. In the July, 1941, expansion five new portfolios were created and Indians were placed in charge of them. In the present expansion the Indian majority has been further increased to eleven.

Six new members have been appointed to the vacancies arising from the deaths of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari and Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, and the appointments of Sir Firoz Khan Noon as Defence Member, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar to the Pacific War Council and the War Cabinet and Sir Andrew Clow as Governor of Assam and the splitting up of the Communications portfolio into War Transport and Posts and Air.

The Viceroy's Executive Council as expanded and reconstituted provides for the first time representation for the Sikhs, the Depressed Classes and the non-official European community. With the communities already represented the Council provides a cross-section of the principal communities and interests in India who have shown themselves ready to co-operate in a War Government under the conditions imposed by the existing constitution.

Geographically, the Council is representative of Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar.

His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar and Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, while representing India at the War Cabinet, will have the same status as the representatives of Dominions. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, while in London, will continue to be a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The following subjects will be included in the Defence portfolio :

- (1) All questions concerning Defence which involve co-ordination of policy and action between the Civil Departments of the Government of India and the work of the War Member. (This was previously in the Governor-General's own portfolio) ;
- (2) War legislation including the Defence of India Act and Rules made thereunder ;
- (3) Demobilisation and post-war reconstruction as far as the Defence Forces and Labour Forces are concerned ;
- (4) Manpower, including the administration of the National Service (European British subjects) Act ;
- (5) Amenities for and welfare of troops ;
- (6) National Defence Council ;
- (7) Local Self-Government in Cantonment areas (not being cantonment areas of Indian State Forces), the constitution and powers within such areas of Cantonment authorities, the regulation of house accommodation in such areas, and, within British India, the delimitation of such areas ;
- (8) Acquisition, custody and relinquishment of land vested in the Crown for purposes of Defence ;
- (9) Co-ordination of the provision, storage, location, transport, etc., of petroleum products of all kinds including those required by the Defence Forces ; and
- (10) Prisoners of War.

The growing problems of transport for defence purposes have necessitated the creation of a new Department dealing with War Transport. Its principal responsibility will be the utilisation and development of transport by road and water and the portfolio will include the Railway Board, Ports, Railway Priorities, Petrol Rationing and the development of Producer Gas. Other subjects formerly included in the Communications portfolio, of which the most important are Posts and Telegraphs, Civil Aviation, Motor Vehicles Legislation and the administration of the Central Road Fund, will be included in a second portfolio to be called Posts and Air.

II

Text of the Communique of July 2, 1942 :—

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. R.

Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E., and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

The following appointments to portfolios have been made by the Governor-General :—

As Member in charge of Information Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in succession to the late Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari.

As Member in charge of Civil Defence Sir J. P. Srivastava in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. Raghavendra Rao.

As Members for War Transport and for Posts and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir Andrew Clow, late Member in charge of Communications, to be Governor of Assam, Sir E. C. Benthall and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman.

As Member for Defence the Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

As Commerce Member the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, to succeed the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar (who will remain a member of the Council) on his appointment as a representative of India at the War Cabinet.

As Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker, Sir Jogendra Singh.

As Member in charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

The portfolio of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will in future be designated the War portfolio.

The new Defence Member will be responsible for the work at present discharged by the Defence Co-ordination Department, together with such other matters relating to the defence of India as are not included in the portfolios of War and Civil Defence.

APPENDIX V

COMMUNIQUE ON MR. GANDHI'S FAST.

The correspondence referred to in the following Press Communiqué issued on Mr. Gandhi's fast in February, 1943, will be found in Part IV of this volume.

"Mr. Gandhi has informed H.E. the Viceroy that he proposes to undertake a fast of three weeks' duration from February 10. It is to be a fast according to capacity, and during it Mr. Gandhi proposes to add juices of citrus fruit to water to make water drinkable, as his wish is not to fast to death but to survive the ordeal," said a Press Communiqué issued by the Government of India on February 10, 1943.

The Communiqué added :

"The Government of India deplore the use of the weapon of fasting to achieve political ends. There can, in their judgment, be no justification for it, and Mr. Gandhi has himself admitted in the past that it contains an element of coercion.

"The Government of India can only express their regret that Mr. Gandhi should think it necessary to employ such a weapon on this occasion, and should seek justification for it in anything which Government may have said or done in connexion with the movement initiated by him and his co-workers in the Congress Party.

"The Government of India have no intention on their part of allowing the fast to deflect their policy. Nor will they be responsible for its consequences on Mr. Gandhi's health. They cannot prevent Mr. Gandhi from fasting. It was their wish, however, that if he decided to do so, he should do so as a free man and under his own arrangements, so as to bring out clearly that the responsibility for any fast and its consequences rested exclusively with him.

"They accordingly informed Mr. Gandhi that he would be released for the purpose and for the duration of the fast of which he had notified them, and with him any members of the Party living with him who may wish to accompany him. Mr. Gandhi in reply has expressed his readiness to abandon his intended fast if released, failing which he will fast in detention. In other words, it is now clear that only his unconditional release could prevent him from fasting. This, the Government of India are not prepared to concede. Their position remains the same, that is to say, they are ready to set Mr. Gandhi at liberty for the purpose and duration of his fast. But if Mr. Gandhi is not prepared to take advantage of that fact and if he fasts while in detention, he does so solely on his own responsibility and at his own risk. He would be at liberty in that event to have his own medical attendants, and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government during its period.

" The Government of India propose to issue, in due course, a full statement on the origin and development of the movement which was initiated in August last, and the measures which Government have been compelled to adopt to deal with it, but they think this is a suitable occasion for a brief review of the events of the last few months.

" Mr. Gandhi in his correspondence with the Viceroy has repudiated all responsibility for the consequences which have flowed from the ' Quit India ' demand which he and the Congress Party have put forward. This contention will not bear examination. Mr. Gandhi's own statement, before the movement was launched, envisaged anarchy as an alternative to the existing order and referred to the struggle ' as a fight to the finish ', in the course of which he would not ' hesitate to run any risk however great.' As much has been made of his offer to meet the Viceroy, it is necessary to point out that at a Press interview on July 14, after the Working Committee resolution was passed, Mr. Gandhi stated that there was no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation, there was no question of one more chance; after all it was an open rebellion which was to be as short and as swift as possible.

" His last message was ' do or die.' The speeches of those most closely associated with Mr. Gandhi have been even more explicit, and have given a clear indication of what the Congress High Command had in mind in launching their attack—an attack which would, if realised, have most seriously imperilled the whole cause of the United Nations—against Government as by law established, and against the agencies and services by which the life of the country was being conducted, in a period, be it noted, of exceptional stress and strain, and of grave danger to India from Japanese aggression.

" The instructions issued by the various Congress organisations, contained in leaflets which were found to be freely circulating in almost every part of India and which, on the evidence, cannot all be disowned as unauthorised, gave specific directions as to the methods which were to be employed for bringing the administration to a standstill.

" The circular of July 29 emanating from the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee is an instance in point. It is noteworthy in this connexion that in widely separated areas all over the country identical methods of attacks on railways and other communications were employed, requiring the use of special implements and highly technical knowledge. Control rooms and block instruments in railway stations came in for special attention, and destruction of telegraph and telephone lines and equipment was carried out in a manner which denoted careful planning and close knowledge of their working. If these manifestations of rebellious activities are to be regarded as the result not of Congress teachings, but as a manifestation of the popular resentment against the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders, the question may well be asked to which section of the public the tens of thousands of men engaged in these violent and subversive activities belonged. If it is claimed that it is not Congressmen who have been responsible, it would be extraordinary, to say the least, if the blame

were to be laid on non-Congress elements. The country is, in effect, asked to believe that those who own allegiance to the Congress Party have behaved in an exemplary non-violent manner and that it is persons who are outside the Congress fold who have registered their resentment at the arrest of the leaders of a movement which they did not profess to follow.

" A more direct answer to the argument is to be had in the fact that known Congressmen have been repeatedly found engaged in incitements to violence, or in prosecuting Congress activities which have led to grave disorders.

" That political parties and groups outside the Congress Party have no delusions on the subject may be judged from the categorical way in which they have dissociated themselves from the movement, and condemned the violence to which it has given rise. In particular, the Muslim League has, on more than one occasion, emphasised the character and intentions of the policy pursued by the Congress Party. As early as the 20th of August last, the Working Committee of the League expressed the view reiterated many times since, that by the slogan ' Quit India ' what was really meant was supreme control of the government of the country by the Congress, and that the mass civil disobedience movement had resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

" Other elements in the political life of the country have expressed themselves in a similar vein, and if followers of the Congress persist in their contention that the resultant violence was no part of their policy or programme, they are doing so against the weight of overwhelming evidence.

" Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Viceroy has sought to fasten responsibility on the Government of India. The Government of India emphatically repudiate this suggestion. It is clearly preposterous to contend that it is they who are responsible for the violence of the last few months which so gravely disorganised the normal life of the country—and, incidentally, aggravated the difficulties of the food situation—at a time when the united energies of the people might have been devoted to the vital task of repelling the enemy and of striking a blow for the freedom of India, the Commonwealth and the world."

APPENDIX VI

Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by a deputation (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. N. M. Joshi, the Hon'ble Pandit H. N. Kunzru, and Mr. K. M. Munshi) from the Leaders' Conference, Bombay, headed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at New Delhi on April 1, 1943 :—*

We are submitting this memorandum in accordance with His Excellency's desire that he should have a written statement precisely explaining what we wish to say to which His Excellency proposes to give a written reply. While we do so, we hope that the helpful spirit in which we approach this matter also animates His Excellency and that it is with a completely open mind that he will receive the deputation.

2. We are glad that His Excellency has found the resolution of the Bombay Conference of 9th and 10th March perfectly clear. We have therein expressed a desire that His Excellency should permit a few of us to meet Gandhi, who is under detention, to ascertain authoritatively his reactions to the events which have happened since his arrest and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation. If His Excellency has no objection to this, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity and discuss matters with Gandhi. We will then go to His Excellency again and place our proposals before him. In case His Excellency has any objections to following this course, we should like to be informed of the objections so that we may try to answer them, and for this purpose we desire an interview with His Excellency.

3. We have carefully read the correspondence which has passed between His Excellency and Gandhiji and which has been published. We feel that Gandhiji has already expressed his disapproval of violence and sabotage, and we have no doubt that he will cast his influence on the side of internal harmony and reconciliation.

4. The correspondence and statements published in connection with the fast have themselves discouraged the disturbances and the contemplated meeting with Gandhiji will, in our view, further the same object.

5. We feel that though order might have been restored on the surface, every day that passes without a solution of the Indian problem intensifies the hostility between Britain and India, and renders any future solution more and more difficult to attain, until we apprehend it may become even impossible. We are convinced that Gandhiji's assistance is essential for the restoration of goodwill and for a solution of the problem even for the interim period, including an adjustment of

* The deputation asked His Excellency to accept their statement, with certain additions which they had incorporated in it, as officially presented to him with a view to publication with the Viceroy's reply, and to dispense with their personal attendance. His Excellency readily agreed to this request.

Hindu-Muslim claims. On the other hand, unpleasant as it is, we cannot help feeling that refusing to permit us to have any contact with Gandhiji now would be equivalent to a determination on the part of Great Britain that there should be no attempt at a settlement of the problem and no reconciliation between Nationalist India and Britain. Whatever may be the immediate administrative convenience thereof, we hope that His Excellency will not take up this attitude. We feel that though there is no present danger of Axis aggression in India, the strained relation between Government and people is fraught with grave evil and all that is possible should be done to replace it by a better feeling.

6. As the war is getting long drawn out, measures to solve the economic problems arising out of it as well as plans for increasing production of food and other essential articles and improving transport and distribution as well as measures of control have to be evolved. Such measures can be organised and regulated only by a national administration or a government that can reasonably claim to approach that character and is in a position to justify policies adopted from time to time although they may involve considerable hardships on all sections of people. The situation is growing more and more serious every day and we feel that a government commanding the loyal and affectionate co-operation of all the people can be constituted for the period of the war only if we are permitted to talk with Gandhiji, consult him and obtain his support. The request that we make is intended to achieve this object. It cannot hurt the Government or the war effort in the least and in our view is likely to lead to constructive results.

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